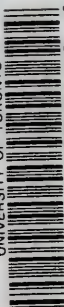


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MISCELLANEOUS.

A

HISTORY OF ENGLISH SOUNDS

FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD,

INCLUDING AN

INVESTIGATION OF THE GENERAL LAWS OF SOUND

CHANGE, AND FULL WORD LISTS.

BY

HENRY SWEET, ESQ.,

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- II. Specimens of English Dialects.
 - Devonshire- An Exmoor Scolding and Courtship ed. by F. F. Elworthy.
 - Westmoreland- A Bran New Work, ed. by W.W. Skeat

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PREFACE.

ADDRESSED TO MEMBERS OF THE ENGLISH DIALECT SOCIETY.

THE History of English Sounds, by Mr. Henry Sweet, was originally written for the London Philological Society, in further illustration of the great work on Early English Pronunciation by Mr. Alexander J. Ellis. Upon application to the Council of the Philological Society, and to the author, permission was at once obtained for making arrangements whereby additional copies of the work should be struck off for the use of members of the English Dialect Society. The importance of it to all who study English sounds, especially such sounds as are frequently well preserved in some of our provincial dialects, will soon become apparent to the careful reader. But as there may be some amongst our members who may not be aware of what has been lately achieved in the study of phonetics, a few words of introduction may not be out of place here.

I have more than once received letters from correspondents who boldly assert that, of some of our dialectal sounds, no representation is possible, and that it is useless to attempt it. Against such a sweeping denunciation of the study of phonetics it would be vain to argue. It may be sufficient merely to remark that precisely the same argument of "impossibility" was used, not so many years ago, against the introduction of the use of steam locomotives upon railways. The opinions of such as are unable to imagine how things which

they cannot do themselves may, nevertheless, be achieved by others, will not be much regarded by such as desire progress and improvement.

It may, however, be conceded that no system of symbols existed which was of sufficient scientific accuracy until the publication of Mr. Melville Bell's singular and wonderful volume entitled—"Visible Speech: the Science of Universal Alphabets: or Self-Interpreting Physiological Letters for the Printing and Writing of all Languages in one Alphabet; elucidated by Theoretical Explanations, Tables, Diagrams, and Examples." Now in this system none of the usual alphabetical characters appear at all, nor is the alphabet founded upon any one language. It is a wholly new collection of symbols, adapted for all or most of the sounds which the human voice is capable of producing, and is founded upon the most strictly scientific principles, each symbol being so chosen as to define the disposition of the organs used in producing the sound which the symbol is intended to represent. How this wonderful result has been achieved, the reader may easily discover for himself, either by consulting that work, or another by the same author which every one interested in the study of phonetics is earnestly recommended to procure, at the cost of only *one shilling*. The title of this latter work, consisting of only sixteen pages in quarto, is:—English Visible Speech for the Million, etc.; by Alex. Melville Bell. London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co.; London and New York: Trübner & Co. A fair and candid examination of this pamphlet will shew the reader, better than any detailed description can do, how the study of sounds has been rendered possible. Every work on phonetics will, no doubt, always be based upon, or have reference to, Mr. Bell's system, and therefore it is the more important that, at the very least, the existence of it should be widely known.

The work of Mr. Ellis is entitled:—On Early English Pronunciation, with especial reference to Shakspeare and Chaucer, by Alexander J. Ellis, F.R.S. The first two parts were published in 1869 by three societies in combination, viz. the Philological Society, the Early English Text Society, and the Chaucer Society; and the third part, by the same societies, in 1870. The work is not yet completed, and the fourth part, not yet published, will contain a full account of our modern English provincial dialects, shewing their distribution and connections. Mr. Ellis employs a system of symbols called *palæotype*, but, as every one of these has its exact equivalent in Mr. Bell's system, it admits of the same degree of accuracy, and has the advantage of being wholly represented by ordinary printing-types.

The next system is that invented by Mr. Ellis for the *special* representation of English dialectal sounds, and denominated *Glossic*.¹ By the kindness of the author, a copy of the tract upon Glossic is in the hands of every member of our Society. The attention of readers is directed to page 11 of that tract, where the thirty-six vowels of Mr. Bell's Visible Speech have their equivalent values in Glossic properly tabulated.

In Mr. Sweet's volume, now in the reader's hands, the corresponding table of vowel-sounds is given at page 5, and one principal object of this short Preface is to shew how Mr. Sweet's symbols and the 'Glossic' symbols agree together, and how, again, each table agrees with that of Mr. Bell.

I shall refer, then, to the three tables as given at p. 5 of Mr. Sweet's book, at p. 11 of the Glossic tract, and at p. 8 of Visible Speech for the Million. See also p. 14 of Mr. Ellis's Early English Pronunciation.

¹ The system called *Glossotype*, illustrated at p. 16 of Mr. Ellis's Early English Pronunciation, may be considered as now *cancelled*, and superseded by *Glossic*.

Mr. Ellis and Mr. Sweet agree with Mr. Bell in their use of the terms *High*, *Mid*, and *Low*; in their use of the terms *Back*, *Mixed*, and *Front*; and in their use of the terms *Wide* and *Wide-round*. The only difference is that Mr. Sweet uses the term *Narrow* instead of *Primary* (see page 4, note 1), and also uses the more exact term *Narrow-round* in place of what Mr. Ellis calls *Round* simply. As Mr. Sweet has *numbered* his sounds, it is easy to tabulate the correspondence of the systems in the following manner. I denote here Mr. Sweet's sounds by the *number* only, and include the Glossic symbol within square brackets, in the usual manner.

1. [uu']. 4. [ea]. 7. [EE].	10. [U']. 13. [I']. 16. [ɪ].
2. [UU]. 5. [v]. 8. [AI].	11. [AA]. 14. [A']. 17. [E].
3. [ua]. 6. [ua']. 9. [AE].	12. [AH]. 15. [E']. 18. [A].
19. [oo]. 22. [ui']. 25. [ui].	28. [uo]. 31. [uo']. 34. [UE].
20. [oA]. 23. [oa']. 26. [EO].	29. [AO]. 32. [ao']. 35. [OE].
21. [AU]. 24. [au']. 27. [eo']. 30. [o]. 33. [o']. 36. [oe'].	

Now it should be clearly understood that these two systems are both perfectly exact, because both refer to the same positions of the organs of voice; but, as soon as these sounds come to be described by illustrative examples, a few slight apparent discrepancies arise, solely from a difference of individual pronunciation, even in the case of common 'key-words.' I believe I am correct in saying that even Mr. Bell's 'key-words' do not represent to everybody the exact sounds intended, but are better understood by a North-country man than by a resident in London. Mr. Ellis describes this difficulty in the following words: "At the latter end of his treatise Mr. Melville Bell has given in to the practice of key-words, and assigned them to his symbols. Let the reader be careful not to take the value of his symbol from his own pronunciation of the key-words, or from any other person's. Let him first determine the value of the symbol from the

exact description and diagram of the speech-organs,—or if possible also from the living voice of some one thoroughly acquainted with the system—and then determine Mr. Bell's own pronunciation of the key-word from the known value of the symbol. This pronunciation in many instances differs from that which I am accustomed to give it, especially in foreign words."

In order to steer clear of such minor difficulties, Mr. Sweet has adopted a very simple system of notation, which only aims at representing the broader distinctions between vowels, using, for example, the same symbol [a] for the mid-back-wide and the low-back-wide sounds (nos. 11 and 12), without further distinction, and defining it only as the sound *a*, as most commonly heard in the word *father*. Roughly speaking, then, the symbols which Mr. Sweet employs in his vowel-table may be thus represented in Glossic.

a, as the short vowel corresponding to the first vowel in *father*; compare Glossic [aa], as in [faa'dhur].

æ, as *a* in *man*; Glossic [a], as in [man].

è, as *e* in *tell*; Glossic [e or æ], as in [tel]; provincial [tael].

é, as *ai* in *bait*; Glossic [ai], as in [bait].

ø, as *u* in *but*; Glossic [u], as in [but].

i, as in *bit*; Glossic [i], as in [bit].

ò, as in *not*; òò, as in *naught*; Glossic [o] in [not]; [au] in [naut].

ó, as *oa* in *boat*; Glossic [oa], as in [boat].

oe, as *ö* in Germ. *schön*; Glossic [œ], as in Germ. [shoen].

u, as *oo* in *foot*; uu as *oo* in *cool*; Glossic [uo, oo], as in [fuot, kool].

y, as *ü* in Germ. *übel*; Glossic [ue], as in Germ. [uebu'l].

ai, a diphthong of *a* and *i*, as *y* in *my*; Glossic [ei], as in [mei].

au, a diphthong of a and u, as *ou* in *house*; Glossic [ou], as in [hous].

éi, a diphthong of é and i, as *a* in *tale*; Glossic [aiy], as in [taiyl].

óu, as *o* in *no*, i.e. ó with an aftersound of u;¹ Glossic [oaw], as in [noaw].

oi, as *oy* in *boy*; Glossic [oi], as in [boi].

It may be added, that þ is used to represent the sound of *th* in *thin*, Glossic [thin]; and ʒ to represent the *th* in *this*, Glossic [dhis].

According, then, to Mr. Sweet's notation, the word *father* is written faaðer; *man*, mæn; *tell*, tæl; *bait*, bét, or (more commonly) béit, in Southern English, béét in Scotch; *but*, bæt; *bit*, bit; *not*, nòt; *boat*, bót, or (more commonly) bóut, in Southern English, bóót in Scotch; Germ. *schön*, shoen; *foot*, fut; Germ. *übel*, ybæl; *my*, mai; *house*, haus; *tale*, téil; *no*, nóu; *boy*, boi.

The long vowels are expressed by doubling the symbol employed for the shorter vowels. The following are examples, viz. *father*, faaðer (the short sound of which is found in the Anglo-Saxon *man*, in modern English changed to *mæn*); *earn*, worse, æn, wæəs; *saw*, faught, sòò, fòòt; *whose*, huuz; and the like. Examples of diphthongs are seen in *eight*, éit; *lord*, hoarse, lòəd, hòəs; *smear*, smiær; *bear*, béær; etc.

The easiest way of becoming familiar with this very simple notation is to observe the long list of words beginning at p. 84. By comparing the *third* column, which gives the modern English *spelling*, with the *fourth*, which gives the modern English *pronunciation* according to the above system, the sounds intended can be very easily ascertained, and the reader

¹ More clearly heard when used as a negative, in response to a question, than when used as in the phrase '*no man*.' EXAMPLE: Do you like that? Answer—nóu.

will be prepared to understand what is meant by the *first* and *second* columns, which exhibit the pronunciations of the Old and Middle period respectively. The thanks of students are especially due to Mr. Sweet for these word-lists, with the alphabetical register of them appended. They can only have been compiled at the cost of much labour and diligence, and shew an intimate acquaintance with the spellings and pronunciations of all periods of English.

W. W. S.

ERRATA AND ADDITIONS.

Page 6, line 12, *for* wulf, *read* wolf.

„ 16 „ 2 *from bottom, dele* important.

„ 52, “Diphthongs,” see also p. 148.

„ 69, “Consonant Influence,” see also p. 151.

„ 74, “Consonant Influence” (Latest Mod.). Note also the tendency to lower *uu* before *r*, as shown in the almost universal *yòò(r)* for *yuur* (possessive of *yuu*). In the vulgar pronunciation this is carried out in all words, so that the combination *uur* is entirely lost. Thus we have *pòòə* for *puur*, *shòòə* for *shuur*, etc.

Word Lists: *dele* þycce (No. 797).

for cleev, *read* clèèv (1327).

quean (1741) seems to come from *cwéne* with a short vowel = Gothic *kwinō*.

HISTORY OF ENGLISH SOUNDS.

BY HENRY SWEET, Esq.

INTRODUCTION.

IN studying the phonetic development of a language two methods are open to us, the historical and the comparative; that is to say, we may either trace the sounds of one and the same language through its successive stages, or else compare the divergent forms in a group of languages which have a common origin.

Each method has its advantages. In the historical method the sequence of the phenomena is self-evident; when we compare two forms of the same sound in several co-existing languages, it is often doubtful which is the older. The peculiar advantage of the comparative method is that it can be applied to living languages, where nothing but careful observation of facts is required, while in the case of dead languages the phonetic material is often defective, and is always preserved in an imperfect form by means of graphic symbols, whose correct interpretation is an indispensable preliminary to further investigation. In short, we may say that the comparative method is based, or may be based, on facts, the historical on theoretical deductions.

It need hardly be said that the first requisite for phonetic investigation of any kind is a knowledge of sounds. Yet nothing is more common in philology than to see men, who have not taken the slightest trouble to make themselves acquainted with the rudiments of vocal physiology, making the boldest and most dogmatic statements about the pronunciation of dead languages—asserting, for instance, that certain sounds are unnatural, or even impossible, merely because they do not happen to occur in their own language. Such prejudices can only be got rid of by a wide and impartial training.

The second requisite is a collection of carefully recorded facts. In this respect the present state of phonology is somewhat anomalous. As far as living languages are concerned, the amount of reliable material that exists is still very small, although it is rapidly increasing, while if we turn to the dead languages we find an enormous body of careful, full, often exhaustive, observations of the varied phenomena of letter-change in the Teutonic languages—a dead mass, which requires the warm breath of living phonology to thaw it into life. Before the word-lists in such a book as Grimm's *Deutsche Grammatik* can be intelligently utilized, the spoken sounds they represent must be determined. The first step is to determine generally the relations between sound and symbol. The ideal of a phonetic notation is, of course, a system in which every simple sound would have a simple sign, bearing some definite relation to the sound it represents. It need hardly be said that all the modifications of the Roman alphabet in which the Teutonic languages have been written down fall far short of this standard. The Roman alphabet was originally, like all naturally developed alphabets, a purely hieroglyphic system, representing not sounds but material objects: the connection of each symbol with its sound is therefore entirely arbitrary. When we consider that this inadequate system was forced on languages of the most diverse phonetic structure, we need not be surprised at the defects of the orthography of the old Teutonic languages, but rather admire the ingenuity with which such scanty resources were eked out.

The maximum of difficulty is reached when a language changes through several generations, while its written representation remains unchanged. In such a case as that of English during the last three centuries, we are compelled to disregard the written language altogether, and have recourse to other methods.

Foremost among these is the study of the contemporary evidence afforded by treatises on pronunciation with their descriptions of the various sounds and comparisons with foreign utterance. It is on this kind of evidence that the

well-known investigations of Mr. Ellis are based. The great value of Mr. Ellis's work consists in the impartial and cautious spirit in which he has carried it out, advancing step by step, and never allowing theories to overrule facts. Mr. Ellis's method forms a striking contrast to that pursued by some Early English students, who, starting from the assumption that whatever pronunciation is most agreeable to their own ears must be the right one, take for granted that Alfred, Chaucer, and Shakespere spoke exactly like 19th-century gentlemen, and then, instead of shaping their theories by the existing evidence, pick out those facts which they think confirm their views, and ignore all the rest. The result of Mr. Ellis's investigations is to establish with certainty, within certain limits, the pronunciation of English during the last three centuries; absolute accuracy is impossible in deductions drawn from the vague statements of men who had but an imperfect knowledge of the mechanism of the sounds they uttered.

I hope, however, to show that that minute accuracy which is unattainable by the method adopted by Mr. Ellis, can be reached through a combination of the comparative with the historical method, taking the latter in its widest sense to include both the external evidence employed by Mr. Ellis, and the internal evidence of the graphic forms. This gives us three independent kinds of evidence, which, as we shall see, corroborate each other in the strongest manner.

Before going any farther it will be necessary to say a few words on the phonetic notation I have adopted. The only analysis of vowel-sounds that is of any real use for general scientific purposes is that of Mr. Bell. His system differs from all others in two important particulars, 1) in being based not on the acoustic effects of the sounds, but on their organic formation, and 2) in being of universal applicability: while most other systems give us only a limited number of sounds arbitrarily selected from a few languages, Mr. Bell's *Visible Speech* is entirely independent of any one language—it not only tells us what sounds *do*

exist in a given language, but also what sounds *may* exist in any language whatever. It is therefore of priceless value in all theoretical investigations like the present.

The following remarks will help to elucidate Mr. Bell's table of vowels with key-words, which I have given on the opposite page.

Every vowel is, as regards position, either *back* (guttural), of which *aa* is the type, *front* (palatal), typified by *ii*, or *mixed*, that is, formed by the back and front of the tongue simultaneously, as in the English *err*. Each vowel, again, has one of three degrees of elevation—it is either *high*, *mid* or *low*. Each of these nine positions may be *rounded* (labialized). Each of the resulting eighteen vowels must, lastly, be either *narrow*¹ or *wide*. In forming narrow vowels the pharynx or cavity behind the mouth is compressed, while in wide vowels it is relaxed. The distinction will be clearly felt by any one who pronounces *not*, *naught*, several times in succession, drawing them out as much as possible: it will be found that in sounding *not* the pharynx and back of the mouth is relaxed, while in *naught* there is evident tension. The vowel in both words is the low-back-round, but in *not* it is wide, in *naught* narrow.

In treating of the formation of the sounds, I have always described them in Mr. Bell's terminology, which is admirably simple and clear. If I could have made use of his types, I could have avoided a great deal of circumlocution, which, as it is, has proved unavoidable.

For the convenience of those who are not able to appreciate minute phonetic distinctions, I have also adopted a rough practical system of notation, in which only the broadest distinctions are indicated. In this system *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, *y*, are employed in their original Roman values, the distinction between open and close *e* and *o* being indicated by accents. To indicate that class of sounds of which the English vowels in *but* and *err* are types, I have adopted the turned *e* (*ə*). The English vowel in *man* is written *æ*, and *æ* is used

¹ I have ventured to substitute "narrow" for Mr. Bell's "primary," as being both shorter and more expressive.

GENERAL VOWEL SCALE.

NARROW.			WIDE.		
1 high-back. <i>occ. Eng. but</i>	4 high-mixed. <i>Sw. upp</i>	7 high-front. <i>Scotch and occ. Eng. feel</i>	10 high-back. <i>occ. Eng. eye</i>	13 high-mixed. <i>but</i>	16 high-front. <i>Engl. bit</i>
2 mid-back. <i>occ. Eng. but</i>	5 mid-mixed. <i>German unacc. e</i>	8 mid-front. <i>Dan. steen Scotch take</i>	11 mid-back. <i>Engl. father</i>	14 mid-mixed. <i>Engl. father</i>	17 mid-front. <i>occ. Engl. men Dan. læse</i>
3 low-back. <i>occ. Scotch but</i>	6 low-mixed. <i>Eng. err</i>	9 low-front. <i>Scotch and occ. Eng. men</i>	12 low-back. <i>Sw. tara Scotch man</i>	15 low-mixed <i>Engl. how occ. Scotch err</i>	18 low-front. <i>Engl. man</i>

NARROW-BOUND.			WIDE-ROUND.		
19 high-back. <i>Scotch and occ. Engl. fool</i>	22 high-mixed. <i>Sw. hus</i>	25 high-front. <i>Germ. ißbel Dan. lys</i>	28 high-back. <i>Eng. full</i>	31 high-mixed.	34 high-front. <i>Dan. synd</i>
20 mid-back. <i>Germ. sohn</i>	23 mid-mixed.	26 mid-front. <i>Dan. føle Germ. schön</i>	29 mid-back. <i>Engl. boy occ. Scotch no</i>	32 mid-mixed.	35 mid-front. <i>Dan. en dør</i>
21 low-back. <i>Engl. fall</i>	24 low-mixed.	27 low-front. <i>Dan. størst occ. Germ. götter</i>	30 low-back. <i>Engl. hot</i>	33 low-mixed.	36 low-front.

to designate the German *ö*. Long vowels are doubled, and diphthongs indicated by combining their elements.¹

a	as in	father	Nos. 11, 12, (3) on Bell's Scale.
æ	"	man	" 18 "
è	"	tell	" 9, (17) "
é	"	<i>Scotch tale, French é</i>	" 8 "
ə	"	but, bird, <i>German gabe</i>	" 2, (3), 5, 6, (10), 14, 15.
i	"	bit, <i>beat</i>	" 7, 16.
ò	"	not	" 21, (29), 30 on Bell's Scale.
ó	"	<i>Scotch note, Germ. sohn</i>	" 20 "
œ	"	<i>Germ. schön</i>	" (26), 27, 35, 36 "
u	"	wulf	" 19, 28.
y	"	<i>Germ. übel</i>	" 25, (26), 34 "
ai	"	my, <i>Germ. mein</i> .	
au	"	house, <i>Germ. haus</i> .	
éi	"	tole.	
óu	"	no.	
oi	"	boy.	

I have not made any use of Mr. Ellis's "palæotype," as, in spite of its typographical convenience, its extreme complexity and arbitrariness make it, as I can testify from personal experience, quite unfitted for popular exposition. The apparent easiness of palæotype as compared with the Visible Speech letters of Mr. Bell is purely delusive: it is certain that those who find Visible Speech too difficult will be quite unable really to master palæotype. It must also be borne in mind that no system of notation will enable the student to dispense with a thorough study of the sounds themselves: there is no royal road to phonetics.

GENERAL LAWS OF SOUND CHANGE.

They may be investigated both deductively, that is, by examining known changes in languages, and à priori, by considering the relations of sounds among themselves. I propose to combine these methods as much as possible. Although in giving examples of the various changes I have been careful to select cases which may be considered as perfectly well established, I must in many cases ask the reader to suspend his judgment till they have been fully discussed, which, of course, cannot be done till we come to the details. The general laws I am about to state may, for the present,

¹ Numbers within parentheses indicate the less distinctive vowels, which admit of being brought under different heads: 26, for instance, may be regarded either as a very open *y* or a close *æ*.

be regarded simply as convenient heads for classing the various changes under.

All the changes may be brought under three grand divisions, 1) *organic*, 2) *imitative*, and 3) *inorganic*. Organic changes are those which are the direct result of certain tendencies of the organs of speech: all the changes commonly regarded as weakenings fall under this head. Imitative changes are the result of an unsuccessful attempt at imitation. Inorganic changes, lastly, are caused by purely external causes, and have nothing to do either with organic weakening or with unsuccessful imitation.

The great defect of most attempts to explain sound-changes is that they select some one of these causes, and attempt to explain everything by it, ignoring the two others. It would, for instance, be entirely misleading to explain the change of the O.E. *bær* (pret. of *beran*) into the N.E. *bore* as an organic sound-change, the truth being that the form *bore* is the result of confusion with the participle *borne*. Such a case as this is self-evident, but I hope to show hereafter that the very remarkable and apparently inexplicable changes which our language underwent during the transition from the Old to the Middle period, can be easily explained as inorganic developments.

We may now turn to the two first classes of changes, organic and imitative. From the fact that all sounds are originally acquired by imitation of the mother and nurse we are apt to assume that all sound-change is due to imitation, but a little consideration will show that this is not the case. How, for instance, can such a change as that of a stopped to an open consonant, or of *ii*, *uu*, into *ai*, *au*, be explained by imitation? The fact that the vast majority of those who speak even the most difficult languages *do* make the finest distinctions perfectly well, proves clearly that the correct imitation of sounds is no insurmountable difficulty even to people of very ordinary capacity. The real explanation of such changes as those cited above is that the sounds were acquired properly by imitation, and then modified by the speaker himself, either from carelessness or indolence.

Further confirmation is afforded by the fact, which any one may observe for himself, that most people have double pronunciations, one being that which they learned by imitation, the other an unconscious modification. If asked to pronounce the sound distinctly, they will give the former sound, and will probably disown the other as a vulgarism, although they employ it themselves invariably in rapid conversation. When the habits are fixed, the difficulty of correct imitation largely increases. To the infant one sound is generally not more difficult than another, but to the adult a strange sound is generally an impossibility, or, at any rate, a very serious difficulty. He therefore naturally identifies it with the nearest equivalent in his own language, or else analyses it, and gives the two elements successively instead of simultaneously. We may, therefore, expect a much wider range of the imitative principle in words derived from other languages. I propose, accordingly, to class all the doubtful changes under the head of organic, treating as imitative changes only those which do not allow of any other explanation, but admitting that some of the changes considered as inorganic may under special circumstances be explained as imitative.

Organic sound-changes fall naturally into two main divisions, *simple* and *complex*. Simple changes are those which affect a single sound without any reference to its surroundings, while complex changes imply two sounds in juxtaposition, which modify one another in various ways.

It is generally assumed by philologists that all organic sound-changes may be explained by the principle of economy of exertion, and there can be no doubt that many of the changes must be explained in this way and in no other, as, for instance, the numerous cases of assimilation, where, instead of passing completely from one sound to another, the speaker chooses an intermediate one. Other changes, however, not only do not require this hypothesis of muscular economy, but even run quite counter to it, as when an open consonant is converted into a stop, a by no means uncommon phenomenon in the Teutonic languages. It is of the greatest importance that these exceptions to the general rule should not be suppressed.

I shall, therefore, while giving precedence to those changes which seem to be in harmony with the general principle of economy of force, take care to state fully the exceptions. I begin with the simple changes, arranging them in classes, according to the different vocal organs concerned in their formation.

A. Simple Changes.

I. WEAKENING.

1) Glottal: voice to whisper and breath. In the formation of voice the glottis is momentarily closed, in that of whisper its edges are only approximated, and in breath the glottis is quite open. It is evident, therefore, that voice *per se* demands the most and breath the least muscular exertion, and that the natural tendency would be to substitute whisper and breath for voice whenever possible. The great preservative of consonantal vocality is the principle of assimilation, to which we shall return presently. When a voice consonant is flanked by vowels, as in *aba*, *aga*, etc., it is much easier to let the voice run on uninterruptedly than to cut it off at the consonant and then resume it. But at the end of a word this assimilative influence is not felt, and accordingly we find that in nearly all the Teutonic languages except English, many of the final voice consonants become either voiceless or whispered.

2) Pharyngal: narrow to wide. In the formation of narrow vowels the pharynx is compressed, while in that of wide vowels it is relaxed. The natural tendency would therefore be from narrow to wide. It is, however, a curious fact that in the Teutonic languages short and long vowels follow diametrically opposed laws of change as regards these pharyngal modifications, long vowels tending to narrowing, short to widening. Full details will be given hereafter; I merely call attention to these Teutonic changes as a clear instance of inapplicability of the principle of economy of force.¹

3) Changes of position. The most general feature of

¹ Mr. H. Nicol, however, suggests that the narrowing of long vowels may be caused by the effort required to sustain a uniform sound—hence long vowels are either narrowed or diphthongized.

changes of position is the tendency to modify the back articulations, whether vowels or consonants, by shifting forwards to the front, point or lip positions. This is clearly a case of economy of exertion, as the back formations require a movement of the whole body of the tongue, the front and point of only a portion of it. Of the two last the front, on the same principle, evidently require more exertion than the point sounds. The lip consonants (the labial vowels must be reserved), lastly, involve the minimum of exertion.

I will now give a few examples of these various changes.

- a) back to front: Sanskrit *ch* (front-stop) from *k*, as in *vach*=*vak*; English *mæn*, *fèèr*, from the Old E. *mann*, *faran*.
- b) back to point: E. *mèit* from O.E. *gemaca*.
- c) back to lip: seems doubtful, as the cases usually cited, such as Greek *pénte*=*kankan*, seem to be the result of the assimilative influence of the *w*-sound preserved in the Latin *quinque*.
- d) front to point: the development of *tsh* from *k* through an intermediate front position, as in the E. *church* from *cyrice*; the change of Sanskrit *ç*, as in *çru*, which was originally the voiceless consonant corresponding to the English consonant *y*, to the present sound of *sh*.
- e) front and point to lip? ¹
- f) back and front to mixed (applies only to vowels). All unaccented vowels in most of the Teutonic languages have been levelled under one sound—the mid-mixed-narrow, as in the German *endo*, *geebæn*, from the older *andi*, *giban*.

There are many exceptions to these general tendencies. Thus, of the two *rs*, the back and the point, the former seems to require less exertion than the latter, and hence is often substituted for it in the careless pronunciation of advanced communities, especially in large cities. Other cases, however, really seem to run counter to the principle of economy of force. Such are the change of *th* into

¹ The not unfrequent change of *th* into *f* is no doubt purely imitative (*frru* for *þruu*).

kh (=German *ch*) in the Scotch (Lothian dialect) *khrii* for *thrii*.

The changes of height in the vowels cannot be brought under any general laws. In the Teutonic languages, at least, short and long vowels follow quite opposite courses, long vowels tending to high, short to low positions.

4) Relaxation :

a) stopped consonants to unstopped : Latin *lingua* from *dingua* ; German *makhən* = E. *mēik*, *wasər* = *wōdōtər* ; Modern Greek *dhédhoka* from *dédooka*.

b) unstopped to diphthongal vowel : Middle English *dai*, *lau*, from older *dagh*, *laghu* ; English *hiə* from *hiir*.

c) untrilling : a common phenomenon in most of the Teutonic languages, especially English, in which the trilled *r* is quite lost.

There are some unmistakable exceptions to these tendencies. All the Teutonic languages except English seem to find the *th* and *dh* difficult, and convert them into the corresponding stopped *t* and *d*. In Swedish the *gh* of the oldest documents has, in like manner, become *g*. There seem to be cases of vowels developing into consonants, which will be treated of hereafter. Lastly, we may notice the not unfrequent development of trilled out of untrilled consonants, as in Dutch, where *g* first became opened into *gh*, which in many Dutch dialects has become a regular guttural *r*.

5) Rounding (vowel-labialization). We must distinguish between the rounded back and the rounded front vowels, for their tendencies are directly opposed to one another : back vowels tend to rounding, front to unrounding. In the case of back vowels, rounding may be regarded as an attempt to diminish the expenditure of muscular energy, by keeping the mouth half-closed, whence the change of *aa* into *ōō*, which, as we shall see, is almost universal in the Teutonic languages. But with the more easily-formed front vowels this economy of exertion is superfluous : we find, accordingly, that front vowels are seldom rounded, but that rounded front vowels are often unrounded, *y* and *æ* becoming *i* and *e*—a frequent change in the Teutonic languages.

II. Loss.

1) of vowels. The loss of unaccented final vowels is a frequent phenomenon in all languages. The dropping of final *e* is a characteristic feature of the Modern period of English.

2) of consonants. Here we may distinguish several classes of changes. A single consonant may fall off either before a vowel or a consonant, and it may be initial, medial, or final. The Teutonic languages are, as a general rule, remarkable for the extreme tenacity with which they retain their consonants, especially when final.

B. Complex Changes.

III. INFLUENCE.

1) One-sided Influence. Influence of one sound on another may be either partial (modification) or complete (assimilation). We must further distinguish the influence of vowel on vowel, vowel on consonant, consonant on consonant, and consonant on vowel.

The modification of one vowel by another, commonly called *umlaut*, is a very important feature of Teutonic sound-change. The following are the most important Teutonic umlauts, which I have formulated as equations.

$a \dots i = \text{è} : O.E. \text{ ènde} = \text{Gothic andi} ; O. \text{ Icelandic wèeri} = \text{waari.}$

$a \dots u = \text{ò} : O. \text{ Icelandic mònnum} = \text{mannum, sòðr} = \text{saaru}$
(*pl. of saar*).

$i \dots a = \text{é} : O.E. \text{ stélan} = \text{Gothic stilan.}$

$u \dots a = \text{ó} : O.E. \text{ óft} = \text{Gothic ufta.}$

$u \dots i = \text{y} : O.E. \text{ fyllan} = \text{fullian, myys} = \text{muusi.}$

$ó \dots i = \text{æ} : O.E. \text{ grœæne} = \text{gróóni.}$

There are also umlauts of diphthongs, such as *èy* in the Old Icelandic *lèysa* = *lausian*.

The change of *ai* into *èi* in Old Icelandic (*vèit* = *vait*), and the further change of *èi* into *éi* in Modern Icelandic, are examples of what might be called diphthongic umlaut.

It is clear that in all theseumlauts the new vowel is exactly intermediate between the original vowel of the root and the modifying one of the termination: if the new vowel became identical with its modifier, the result would be not anumlaut but a complete assimilation. In the Old Icelandic *sköpuðu*=*skapaðu* the first vowel is modified, the second assimilated by the final *u*.

Vowel influence on consonants is not very common, but the different forms of German *ch*, after back, front, and rounded vowels, as in *ach*, *ich*, *auch*, are instances of it.

Consonant influence on consonants is very strongly developed in some languages: what is called *sandhi* in Sanskrit and *mutation* in the Celtic languages falls partly under this head. The Teutonic languages, on the other hand, are remarkable for the independence of their consonants, and the freedom with which they are combined without modifying one another. Consonant influence on vowels, lastly, is perhaps the obscurest of all phonetic problems: the explanation of its varied phenomena seems to require a far greater knowledge of the synthesis of speech-sounds than is at present attained by phonologists. These influences are strongly developed both in Old and Modern English, and will be treated of in their place.

The converse of the processes just considered is *dissimilation*, by which two identical sounds are made unlike, or two similar sounds are made to diverge. The development of the Teutonic preterite *wista* out of *witta* is an example of consonantal, the diphthongization of *ii* into *éi* in Early Modern English of vowel dissimilation, while the further change of *éi* into *æi* and *ai* is a case of divergence of similar sounds. The whole phenomena of *dissimilation* is anomalous, and it is doubtful whether many of the instances ought not to be ascribed to purely external causes, as, for instance, the desire of greater clearness.

2) Mutual Influence. Mutual influence, in which *both* the sounds are modified by one another, may be either partial or complete. I do not know of any sure instance of partial convergence.

The commonest type of complete convergence is such a change as that of *au* into *òð*, in which two distinct sounds are simplified into one sound different from and yet similar to both of them. This simplification of diphthongs is, as we shall see, a very frequent phenomenon in the history of English sounds. Of consonantal simplification we have an example in the English *wh* in *what*, which was first *khwat*, then *h-wat*, and lastly *what*, the initial *h* being incorporated into the *w*, which consequently lost its vocality.

The converse phenomenon of divergence is exemplified in the resolution of simple long vowels into diphthongs. We have seen that *òð* is often the result of the simplification of *au*, but in Icelandic the process has been reversed—the Old Icelandic *òð* (as in *dòðø* from *daaø*) has become *au*. In the same way the Middle English *yy* has in the present English been resolved into *iu*. Whether short vowels are ever resolved is very doubtful.

IV. TRANSPOSITION.

Transposition may be of consonants, as in the familiar *æx* for *ask*, or else of vowels in different syllables, as in the Greek *meinō* for *meniō*. This latter case must be carefully distinguished from umlaut. There seem also to be cases of transposition in different words, or in whole classes of words, such as the confusion between *'air*=*hair* and *hair*=*air*, which seems to be often made in the London dialect.

The results obtained may be conveniently summed up thus:

A. Simple Changes.

I. WEAKENING.

- 1) Glottal: voice to whisper and breath.
- 2) Pharyngeal: narrow to wide.
- 3) Position: a) back to front.
 b) back to point.
 c) back to lip?
 d) front to point.

- e) front and point to lip ?
- f) back and front to mixed (vowels only).
- g) vowel-height ?

4) Relaxation : a) stop to unstopped ; b) unstopped to vowel ; c) untrilling.

5) Vowel-rounding : rounding of back ; unrounding of front.

II. Loss.

- 1) Of vowels : unaccented final *e*.
- 2) Consonants : before vowel, before another consonant ; initial, medial, final.

B. Complex Changes.

III. INFLUENCE.

- 1) One-sided, a) convergent :
partial (modification), complete (assimilation) ; vowel on vowel (umlaut), vowel on consonant, consonant on consonant (sandhi), consonant on vowel.
b) divergent (dissimilation) : of vowels, of consonants.
- 2) Mutual, a) convergent :
partial (diphthongic umlaut), complete (diphthongic simplification) ; consonantal.
b) divergent : resolution of long vowels, of short (?).

IV. TRANSPOSITION.

- 1) Of consonants.
- 2) Of vowels (in different syllables).
- 3) In different words.

IMITATIVE SOUND-CHANGES.

The general principle on which imitative changes depend is simply this—that the same effect, or nearly the same, may be produced on the ear by very different means. Thus, starting from the mid-front-narrow vowel *e*, we can lower

its natural pitch either by slightly raising the back of the tongue, and thus producing the corresponding mixed *ə* instead of the front vowel, or else by rounding into the mid-front-round *æ*, the result being that *æ* and *ə* are so alike in sound that they are constantly confused in many languages. This similarity of sound between the mixed and round vowels was first pointed out by Mr. Bell (*Visible Speech*, p. 87).

There is the same similarity between the low-narrow and the mid-wide vowels, and also between the high-wide and the mid-narrow. Thus the English *e* in *men* is indifferently pronounced, either as the mid-front-wide or the low-front-narrow, and the *ə* in *bat* as the high-back-wide or the mid-back-narrow.

Whenever, then, we find a sound changing directly into another which, although very similar in acoustic effect, is formed in quite a different manner, we may be sure that the change is an imitative, not an organic one. Thus, when we find *æ* and *ə* constantly interchanging without any intermediate stages, it would be unreasonable to assume, as we should have to do on the assumption of organic change, three such stages as *æ*, *é*, *ə*, whereas the imitative hypothesis makes the direct change of *æ* into *ə* perfectly intelligible.

INORGANIC CHANGES.

Inorganic sound-changes, which result from purely external causes, are of a very varied character, and are consequently difficult to classify. One of the most prominent of these external influences is the striving after logical clearness, which comes more and more into play as the sounds of the language become less distinct. Clearness may again be attained in many ways—by discarding one of two words which have run together in form, though distinct in meaning, or by taking advantage of any tendency to change which may keep the two words distinct (*scheideformen*). The important phenomenon of *levelling*, by which advanced languages get rid of superfluous distinctions, is a very im-

portant inorganic change, and is strongly developed in Transition English. A familiar aspect of inorganic sound-change is the alteration of foreign words so as to give them a homely appearance, as in *sparrow-grass* for *asparagus*.

GENERAL LAW OF CHANGE.

The investigation of the various laws of sound-change—important as it is—must not be allowed to divert our attention from the general principle on which they all depend, namely that of incessant change—alternations of development and decay. To say that language changes looks very like a truism, but if so, it is a truism whose consequences are very generally ignored by theorizers on pronunciation. The most important lesson that it teaches us is to regard all cases of stand-still, whether of phonetic or of general linguistic development, as abnormal and exceptional. These cases of arrested development are really much rarer than is commonly supposed, and many of them are quite delusive—the result of the retention of the written representation of an older language, from which the real living language has diverged widely. English and Icelandic are striking examples. The written English language is for all practical purpose an accurate representation of the spoken language of the sixteenth century, which, as far as the sounds themselves are concerned, is as different from the present English as Latin is from Italian. The apparent stability of our language during the last few centuries is purely delusive.

The case of English and Icelandic also shows how it is possible for a language to retain its grammatical structure unimpaired, and at the same time to undergo the most sweeping changes in its phonetic system. How much more then are we bound to expect a change of pronunciation where the whole grammatical structure of a language has been subverted!

It is not only in its unceasing alternations of development and decay that language shows its analogy with the other manifestations of organic life, but also in another very

important feature, namely in that of increasing complexity of phonetic structure. The greater number of sounds in a late as opposed to an early language is at once evident on comparing two languages belonging to the same stock, but in different stages of development, such as English with German, French with Italian or Spanish. It can further be shown that even in German, in its sounds one of the most archaic of the living Teutonic languages, many of the simple vowels are of comparatively late origin.

The sounds of early languages, besides being few in number, are more sharply marked off, more distinct than those of their descendants. Compare the multitude of indistinct vowel sounds in such a language as English with the clear simplicity of the Gothic and Sanskrit triad *a, i, u*—the three most distinct sounds that could possibly be produced. From these three vowels the complex systems of the modern languages have been developed by the various changes already treated of.

There can be little doubt that the simplicity of earlier phonetic systems was partly due to want of acoustic discrimination, and that primitive Man contented himself with three vowels, simply because he would have been unable to distinguish between a larger number of sounds. The really marvellous fineness of ear displayed by those who speak such languages as English, Danish, or French, must be the result of the accumulated experience of innumerable generations.

From this we can easily deduce another law, namely that the changes in early languages are not gradual, but *per saltum*. A clear appreciation of this principle is of considerable importance, as many philologists have assumed that in such changes as that of a back into a front consonant (Sanskrit *k* into *ch*) the tongue was shifted forwards by imperceptible gradations. Such assumptions are quite unnecessary, besides being devoid of proof. To people accustomed previously only to the broad distinction between back and front consonant, the further distinction of front must at first have appeared almost indistinguishable from its two extremes.

Under such circumstances it is not easy to see how they could have distinguished intermediate modifications of the original sound.

GENERAL ALPHABETICS.

Although it would be possible to carry on the present investigation on a purely comparative basis—confining our attention exclusively to the living languages—such a process would prove tedious and difficult, if pursued without any help from the historical method, many of whose deductions are perfectly well established: to ignore these would be perverse pedantry. But the historical method must be based on a study of the graphic forms in which the older languages are preserved, and especially of their relation to the sounds they represent. It is quite useless to attempt to draw deductions from the spelling of a language till we know on what principles that spelling was formed. We have only to look at living languages to see how greatly the value of the spelling of each language varies. In English and French the spelling is almost worthless as a guide to the actual language; in German and Spanish the correspondence between sound and symbol is infinitely closer, and in some languages, such as Finnish and Hungarian, it is almost perfect—as far as the radical defects of the Roman alphabet allow.

With these facts before us, it is clearly unreasonable to assume, as many philologists have done, that the same divergence between orthography and pronunciation which characterizes Modern English prevailed also in the earlier periods, and consequently that no reliable deductions can be drawn from the graphic forms. I feel confident that every one who has patience enough to follow me to the end of the present discussion will be convinced of the very opposite. Putting aside the actual evidence altogether, it is quite clear that the wretched attempts at writing the sounds of our dialects made by educated men of the present day cannot be taken as standards from which to infer a similar result a thousand years ago.

An educated man in the nineteenth century is one who

has been taught to associate groups of type-marks with certain ideas: his conception of language is visual, not oral. The same system is applied to other languages as well as English, so that we have the curious phenomenon of people studying French and German for twenty years, and yet being unable to understand a single sentence of the spoken languages; also of Latin verses made and measured by eye, like a piece of carpentry, by men who would be unable to comprehend the metre of a single line of their own compositions, if read out in the manner of the ancients. The study of Egyptian hieroglyphics affords almost as good a phonetic training as this.

Before the invention of printing the case was very different. The Roman alphabet was a purely phonetic instrument, the value of each symbol being learned by ear, and consequently the sounds of the scribe being also written by ear. The scarcity of books, the want of communication between literary men, and the number of literary dialects—all these causes made the adoption of a rigid, unchanging orthography a simple impossibility. It must not, of course, be imagined that there were *no* orthographical traditions, but it may be safely said that their influence was next to none at all. The only result of greater literary cultivation in early times was to introduce a certain roughness and carelessness in distinguishing shades of sound: we shall see hereafter that sounds which were kept distinct in the thirteenth-century spelling were confused in the time of Chaucer, although it is quite certain that they were still distinguished in speech. But such defects, although inconvenient to the investigator, do not lead him utterly astray, like the retention of a letter long after the corresponding sound has changed or been lost, which is so often the case in orthographies fixed on a traditional basis.

Early scribes not only had the advantage of a rational phonetic tradition—not a tradition of a fixed spelling for each word, but of a small number of letters associated each with one sound;—but, what is equally important, the mere practical application of this alphabet *forced* them to observe

and analyse the sounds they wrote down: in short they were trained to habits of phonetic observation. Yet another advantage was possessed by the earliest scribes—that of a comparatively limited number of sounds to deal with. For the proofs of this position I must refer to the remarks I have made in the discussion of the Laws of Sound Change, and to the details of the investigation itself.

The Roman alphabet consisted of six simple vowel signs, *a e i o u y*: on these six letters the vowel notation of all the Teutonic languages was based. If, therefore, we can determine the sounds attached to these letters by the Romans during the first few centuries of Christianity, we can also determine, within certain limits, the sounds of the unlettered tribes who adopted the Roman alphabet to write their own languages. Nor need our determination be absolutely accurate. It is certain that minute shades of difference between a Latin and, for example, an Old English sound would not have deterred the first writers of English from adopting the letter answering to the Latin sound: all that was wanted was a distinctive symbol.

Now there can be no doubt as to the general values of the six Roman vowel-signs. The sounds of the first five are still preserved in nearly all the Modern Latin languages, and that of the *y*, although lost in Italian and the other cognate languages, can be determined with certainty from the descriptions of the Latin grammarians, and from its being the regular transcription of the Greek *upsilon*. The values of the Roman vowel-letters may, then, be represented approximately thus:

<i>a</i> =Italian <i>a</i> ; English <i>father</i> .					
<i>e</i>	„	<i>e</i>	„	bed, bear.	
<i>i</i>	„	<i>i</i>	„	bit, beat.	
<i>o</i>	„	<i>o</i>	„	odd, bore.	
<i>u</i>	„	<i>u</i>	„	full, fool.	
<i>y</i> =French <i>u</i> ; Danish <i>y</i> .					

We see that even in English the traditional values of the Roman letters have been very accurately preserved in many

cases, and it need hardly be said that the majority of the living Teutonic languages have preserved them almost as faithfully as Italian and Spanish. We thus find that the Romance and Teutonic traditions are in complete harmony after a lapse of more than ten centuries. The greatest number of exceptions to the general agreement occur in the two most advanced languages of each group—English and French; but it can be shown that these divergences are of very late origin, and that in the sixteenth century the original tradition was still maintained.

We may now pass from the consideration of the single letters to that of their combinations or digraphs. The first use of digraphs, namely to express diphthongs, is self-evident, but they have a distinct and equally important function in symbolizing simple sounds which have no proper sign in the original Roman alphabet. The plan adopted was to take the symbols of two different sounds which both resembled the one in question, and write them one after the other, implying, however, that they were to be pronounced not successively but simultaneously—that an intermediate sound was to be formed. Thus, supposing there had been no *y* in the Roman alphabet, the sound might still have been easily represented by writing *u* and *i* (or *e*) together, implying an intermediate sound, which is no other than that of *y*. As we see, the framers of the Old English alphabet, living at a time when the Roman *y* still had its original sound, had no need of this expedient; but in Germaný, where the sound of *y* did not develope till a comparatively late period—during the twelfth century—the only course open was to resort to a digraph, so that the sound which in Danish is still expressed by the Old Roman *y*, is in Modern German written *ue*.

This *ue* affords at the same time an excellent example of the way in which diacritical modifications are developed out of digraphs. The first step is to write one of the two letters above or under the other: accordingly we find the German *ue* in later times written *ü*. Afterwards the *e* was further abbreviated into two dots, giving the familiar *ü*. In some cases the diacritic becomes incorporated into the letter, and

there results what is practically an entirely new letter. Although most diacritics can be explained in this way, as corruptions of originally independent letters, there are still a few cases of arbitrary modification, of which the Old English ȝ from d is an example. Cases of the arbitrary use of consonants as digraphic modifiers also occur. Thus h has come to be a perfectly unmeaning sign, implying any imaginable modification of the consonant it is associated with. Compare g and gh in Italian, l and lh in Portuguese, etc. The doubling of consonants to express new sounds is equally arbitrary, as in the Welsh ff as distinguished from f , and the Middle English $ss=sh$.

In all the cases hitherto considered the digraph is formed consciously and with design, but it often happens that a diphthong becomes simplified, and the original digraph is still retained for the sake of distinctness. Thus, if the diphthong iu passes into the simple sound of yy , it is clearly the simplest and most practical course to retain the iu , as being a perfectly legitimate representation of a sound which, although simple, lies between i and u .

All diacritical letters, whatever their origin, are distinguished in one very important respect from the older digraphs—they are perfectly unambiguous, while it is often difficult to determine whether a given digraph is meant to represent a diphthong or a simple sound. There is, however, one invariable criterion, although, unfortunately, it cannot always be applied, which is the *reversibility of the elements of the digraph*. Thus, the sound written oe in Old English, as in *boec* (later *bee*), might, on the evidence of this spelling alone, be taken equally well for a diphthongic combination of o and e , or for a sound intermediate to these two vowels; but when we find *boec* and *beoc* alternating, as they do, on the same page, we see that the e was a mere modifier, whose position before or after the vowel to be modified was quite immaterial: the sound must therefore have been simple—a conclusion which is fully confirmed by other evidence.

The Roman alphabet has been further enriched by the differentiation of various forms of the same letter, of which

the present distinctions between *u* and *v*, *i* and *j*, are instances. In these cases varieties of form which were originally purely ornamental and arbitrary have been ingeniously utilized to express distinctions in sounds.

QUANTITY AND QUALITY IN THE TEUTONIC LANGUAGES.

The distinguishing feature of the early Teutonic languages is the important part played in them by quantity. This subject has been very fully investigated by Grimm and his school in Germany, and it may be regarded as proved beyond a doubt that in the Teutonic languages quantity was originally quite independent of stress or quality, and that many words were distinguished solely by their quantity.

Even so late as the thirteenth century we find the German poetry regulated partly by quantitative laws. Not only are short and long vowels never rhymed together, but there is also a fine distinction made between dissyllables with short and long penultimates; words like *bīte* (modern *bitte*) being treated as metrically equivalent to a monosyllable, while *rīte* (now *reite*) is regarded as a true dissyllable. Many metres which employ monosyllabic rhyme-words indifferently with words like *bīte* do not show a single instance of a dissyllable like *rīte* at the end of the line.

Similar instances may be adduced from the Icelandic *rímur* of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

All this is fully confirmed by the direct evidence of many German MSS. of the eleventh century, which employ the circumflex regularly to denote a long vowel.

It is further generally admitted that in the living Teutonic languages these distinctions have mostly vanished, short vowels before single consonants having been generally lengthened, and that quantitative distinctions have been replaced by qualitative ones. The general laws, however, on which these changes depend, have not hitherto been investigated, and I propose hereafter to treat of them in some detail: at present we must content ourselves with an examination of the more general features of the change.

In the substitution of qualitative for quantitative distinctions we can easily observe three stages, 1) the purely quantitative, 2) the transitional, in which, while the distinctions of quantity are still preserved, short and long vowels begin to diverge qualitatively also, and 3) the qualitative, in which long and short vowels are confounded, so that the original quantitative distinctions are represented, if at all, by quality only.

That the oldest English still retained the original quantitative system is in itself highly probable from the analogy of the other cognate languages, and also admits of decisive proof. If we take two vowels, one originally long, the other originally short, which are both long and yet qualitatively distinct in the living language, and show that they were qualitatively identical at an earlier period, we are forced to assume a purely quantitative distinction, for the later divergence of quality could not have developed out of nothing. Let us take the words *stoun* and *bein*, written in Old English *stan* and *bana*. It is quite certain that the *a* of *stan* was originally long, for it is nothing but a simplification of an older *ai*, still preserved in the German *shtain*, while there is equally decisive proof of the shortness of the *a* of *bana*. Now, if there had been any difference in the quality of the two vowels, they would certainly not have been written with the same letter. The back vowel *a* can only be modified in two directions—in that of *e* or of *o*, that is, by fronting or rounding, and, as we shall see hereafter, such changes were regularly indicated by a change of spelling, even when the departure from the original sound was very minute. We are, therefore, led to the conclusion that the present purely qualitative distinction between *stoun* and *bein* was in the Old English period purely quantitative—*staan* and *bana*. Similar evidence is afforded by the other vowels.

As we have little direct evidence of the quantity of individual Old English words, recourse must be had to the comparison of the old cognates, for the details of which I must refer to the works of Grimm and his successors in Germany. Much may also be learned from the qualitative distinctions of the modern languages.

OLD ENGLISH PERIOD.

We may now proceed to a detailed examination of the vowel-sounds of our language in its oldest stage. The results of this investigation—which is an indispensable preliminary to the study of the later changes—cannot be properly appreciated till the evidence is fully set forth ; at present I only wish to remind the reader that a rigorously mathematical method is quite impracticable in such an investigation, which can only be carried out by a process of cumulative reasoning, based on a number of independent probabilities. Nothing can be more irrational than to ignore an obvious deduction merely because it is a deduction, or to discard one that, although not absolutely certain, is extremely probable, in favour of another that is only barely possible.

The principle I have adopted in cases of uncertainty is to adopt the oldest sound that can be ascertained. It happens in many cases that although we can say with certainty that a sound underwent a certain change, we cannot point out the exact period in which the new sound arose. It must be borne in mind that the written language, even in the most illiterate and therefore untraditional times, is always somewhat behind the living speech, and further that a new pronunciation may exist side by side with the old for a long time. In such cases it is necessary to have some definite criterion of selection, and that of always taking the oldest sound seems the most reasonable.

SHORT VOWELS.

A (Æ, O).

The short *a* of the cognate languages is in Old English preserved only in certain cases: 1) before a single consonant followed by *a*, *o*, or *u*, which have, however, in the earliest extant period of the language been in some cases weakened into *e*: *hara*, *hagol*, *caru*, *care*; 2) before nasals: *bana*, *lamb*, *lang*. In other cases *a* is replaced by *æ*: *dæg*, *æppel*, *cræftig*. Alternations of *a* and *æ* according to these rules often occur

in various inflexions of the same word: *dæg*, *dæges*, *dagas*, *dagum*. *a* before nasals is liable to interchange with *o*: *bona*, *lomb*, *long*. This *o* is so frequent in the earlier period as in many words almost to supersede the *a*, but afterwards the *a* gets the upper hand, the *o* being preserved in only a few very frequent words, such as *bonne*, *on*, *of*, which last is an exceptional case of *o* developing before *f*, also occurring in the proper name *Offa* (=original *Aba*).

So far goes the evidence of the graphic forms, as it may be found in any comparative grammar, and before bringing in the living languages it will be as well to consider what deductions may be drawn from them. In the first place it is clear that the development of the *æ* is not due to any assimilation, but is a purely negative phenomenon, that is to say, that wherever *a* was not supported by a back vowel in the next syllable, it was weakened into *æ* without any regard to the following consonant. The change cannot therefore, as German philologists have already remarked, be compared to the regular vowel-mutation or umlaut.

As to the pronunciation of this *æ*, the spelling clearly points to a sound intermediate between *a* and *e*, while the joining together of the two letters and the frequent degradation of the *a* into a mere diacritic, which is sometimes entirely omitted, show that it was a simple sound, not a diphthong: further than this we cannot advance till we have determined more accurately the sounds of *a* and *e*.

It is also clear that the *o* of *long*=*lang* must have been distinct from the regular *o* in *gold*, etc., for otherwise they would have run together and been confused. This conclusion is further confirmed by direct graphic evidence. In the riddles of that well-known collection of Old English poetry, the Exeter Book, the solution is sometimes given in Runic letters written backwards, and in one of them occurs the word COFOAH which, read backwards, gives *haofoc*=*hafoc* (hawk). Here we have an *a* labialized before *f*, as in *qf*=*af*, written *ao*, with the evident intention of indicating a sound intermediate between *a* and *o*, just as *æ* points to a sound intermediate between *a* and *e*.

We may now turn our attention to the pronunciations of the modern languages. Disregarding minute shades of sound, we may distinguish three kinds of *a*s in the living Teutonic languages :

1) the mid-back-wide: English *father*, ordinary German *a*.

2) the low-back-wide: Scotch short *a* in *man*.

3) the low-back-narrow: I hear this sound in the South German dialects for both long and short *a*, and in Dutch for the short *a*, especially before *l*.

As to the relative antiquity of these sounds, there can be little doubt that the first is a later modification of the second, and it is very probable that the second is a weakened form of the third. In fact, it may safely be said that this last requires more exertion in its utterance than any other vowel—a fact which easily accounts for its rarity, and also for its preservation in the South German dialects, which, as we shall see hereafter, have preserved their short vowels more purely than any of the other languages.

Are we then to assume that the Old English *æ* had this narrow sound? Analogy is certainly in favour of this assumption, but a little consideration will show that it is untenable. If *a* had been narrow, its weakening *æ*, which is simply *a* moved on towards *e*, would also have been narrow, giving no other sound than the low-front-narrow; but this, as we shall see, was the sound of the open short *e*, from which the *æ* is kept quite distinct: the *æ*, therefore, cannot have been narrow, nor, consequently, its parent *a*. But if we suppose the *a* to have had the sound of the Scotch *man*—that is the low-wide—the difficulty is cleared away, and we come to the very probable conclusion that the *æ* had the exact sound of the modern English *man*—the low-front-wide.

The *a* if labialized (or rounded) would naturally give the low-back-round-wide (English *not*), and as there is every reason to believe that the normal *o* was the mid-back-round-narrow, we see that the labialized *a* in *monn*, etc., was exactly half-way between *a* and *o*—a conclusion to which we have already been led by an examination of the graphic evidence.

I.

The only debatable point about the *i* is whether it had the wide sound of the English and Icelandic or the narrow of the German and Swedish short *i*. All we can say is that, although it is possible that the wide sound may have been the real one, every analogy is in favour of the narrow.

E.

We must distinguish two kinds of *es* in the Teutonic languages, 1) the *a*-mutation of *i*, as in *helpan*=Gothic *hilpan*, and 2) the *i*-mutation of *a*, as in *ende*=Gothic and Old High German *andi*. The two sounds are now confounded in the Teutonic languages, but there is clear evidence that they were formerly distinct, for in the Middle High German poetry the two *es* are never rhymed together, and the Icelanders Þóroddr, in his treatise on orthography, carefully distinguishes the two, stating that the *e* from *a* had a sound which was a mixture of *a* and *e*, implying, of course, that the other *e* was nearer to the *i* from which it arose.

It has been generally assumed by comparative philologists that there was no distinction between the two *es* in Old English, but, as I have pointed out elsewhere,¹ there is unmistakable graphic evidence to prove that there was a distinction, the *e* from *a* being often written *æ*, although this spelling was soon abandoned because of the confusion it caused with the regular *æ* of *dæg*, etc.

Putting all these facts together, remembering that the one *e* was nearer *i*, the other nearer *a*, and yet distinct from the *æ*, we can hardly help assigning to the *e* from *i* the sound of the mid-front-narrow, and to the *e* from *a* that of the low-front-narrow. That the *e* from *a* was narrow need not make any difficulty, when we consider that the change took place at a much earlier period than that of the development of the *æ* of *dæg*, etc.—in short, at a period in which the *a* was probably narrow in all the Teutonic languages.

¹ King Alfred's West-Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care. Introd. p. xxiii.

The unaccented *e* in such words as *gebiden*, *ende*, requires to be considered separately. In all the living Teutonic languages which possess this sound—that is to say, all except Icelandic and English—it is the mid-mixed-narrow. But in many of the South German dialects the mid-front-narrow occurs, which is clearly a more ancient sound. That this was the sound of the Old Icelandic unaccented *e* (now written and pronounced *i*) is clear from Þóroddr's expressly adducing the second vowel of *framer* (= *framir* : nom. plur. masc. of *framr*) as an example of the close *e* arising from *i*.

It seems most reasonable to suppose that this pronunciation, which is also preserved to the present day in South Germany, was also the Old English one.

U.

What has been said of *i* applies equally to *u*, namely that analogy is in favour of its having had the narrow German sound rather than the wide English one.

O.

It is quite clear that the sound now given to the regular short *o* in all the Teutonic languages except German—the low-back-wide-round—cannot be the old one; for, as we have seen, this was the sound of the modified *a* before nasals (*monn*, etc.) which is kept quite distinct from the regular *o* in such a word as *oft*. This latter *o* is nothing else than an *a*-mutation of *u* (compare *oft* with Gothic *ufta*): it seems, therefore, reasonable to suppose that, as the *a*-mutation of *i* differed from the latter vowel simply in being lowered one degree towards the “low” position of the *a*, the *o* was simply the *u* lowered from its high to the mid position, resulting in the mid-back-narrow-round. Now this is the sound still preserved all over South Germany, and until further evidence is forthcoming it seems to me that we are justified in assuming that the same was the Old English sound.

Y.

This letter, which was originally nothing else but a Greek *ϒ*, was adopted into the Roman alphabet to denote the sound

of the Greek *u*, which did not exist in Latin. The pronunciation of this Greek *u* is generally agreed to have been that of the French *u* or the German *ü*, and it is clear, from the descriptions of the Roman grammarians, that they attached the same value to their *y*, with which the Greek *u* is invariably transcribed. It is a remarkable fact that while the original sound of the Roman *y* has been quite lost in the Romance languages, it is still preserved in Danish and Swedish. As we know that the Scandinavian nations learned the use of the Roman alphabet from England, this Scandinavian tradition not only confirms the generally-received pronunciation of the Roman *y*, but also affords independent proof of the sound of the letter in Old English.

In its origin *y* is the *i*-mutation of *u*; its sound is therefore, as the Iclander Þóroddr says, “blended together of *i* and *u*,” and Þóroddr actually considers *y* to be a combination of these two letters. The sound which fulfils these conditions is clearly that which is still preserved in South Germany, Sweden, and, in many words, in Danish—the high-front-narrow-round. This, then, we may safely assume to have been the Old English sound also.

LONG VOWELS.

AA.

Long *a* in Old English corresponds to an *ai* of the older cognates, Gothic and Old High German, of which it is a simplified form. As the *aa* has been rounded at a later period, and is represented in the present language by the diphthong *ou*, some theorists, who seem incapable of realizing the possibility of sounds changing during the lapse of ten centuries, have assumed that it was labial in the Old English period as well. The answer to this is, that if the sound had been at all labial, it would have been written, at least occasionally, *o* or *oa*, as was actually done at a later period, and as the Old English scribes themselves did in the case of short *a* before nasals: when we find the tenth century scribes writing invariably *stan*, and those of the twelfth century

writing as invariably *stoon* or *ston*, it seems simplest to infer that the former meant to indicate *a* and the latter some variety of *o*.

ÆÆ.

There are two long *æ*s in Old English. The commonest is that which corresponds to original *ai*, as in *sæ*, *dæ*l=Gothic *saiw*, *dail*. The relation of this *æ* to the *ā* treated of above is not quite clear. In some words, such as *clêne*=Old German *kleini*, the *æ* may be explained as an umlaut of *ā*, original *claini* first becoming *clāni* and then *clēni*. But such words as *sæ* and *dæ*l do not admit this explanation. It seems therefore simplest to assume that *æ* and *ā* are both independent modifications of *ai*, the former being formed by convergence, the latter by loss of the *i*.

The second *æ* is that which corresponds to original *ā*, Gothic *ē*, as in *dæ*d=Gothic *dēd*, Old German *tāt*. It is, however, quite clear (as will be shown hereafter) from the Modern English forms that this *æ* did not exist in the dialect from which literary English has arisen, but was represented by *ē*, as in Gothic, which is the case even in the West-Saxon in some words, such as *wēn*=Old German *wān*, Gothic *wēn*, and the proper name *Ælfrēd*=Old German *Alprāt*.

The only question about the sound of *æ* is whether it was narrow or wide. The analogy of short *æ* would rather point to its being wide, that of the pronunciation of Modern German, in which the *èè*-umlaut of *ā* (*kèèzə*=*kaasi*) is always narrow, rather to narrowness. In fact the long sound of the *æ* in *mæn* is quite unknown in the Modern Teutonic languages. It must also be borne in mind that *æ* is probably a much older formation than the short *æ*, and may very well have been developed at a time when all the vowels were still narrow. If so, long *æ* must have been the low-front-narrow.

EE.

Long *ē* corresponds first to original *ā*, although, as already stated, this *ē* often becomes *æ* in the West-Saxon dialect. In many words it is a simplification of the diphthongs *eā* and *eō*,

as in *nēd*, *ēc*=*neād*, *eāc* (both of which forms are also common), *gēng*=*geōng*. The third and most common *ē* is the *i*-umlaut of *ō*, written *oe* in the oldest documents, as in *grēne* (*groene*)=original *grōni*. The pronunciation of all these *ēs* was probably the same, as they are not distinguished from one another in writing, and cannot well have been any other than the mid-front-narrow.

II, UU,

Correspond to original *ii* and *uu*, which are still preserved in the Scandinavian languages, the Old English *wīn* and *hūs* being now pronounced in Icelandic and Danish *viin*, *huus*. There can be no doubt that the Old English sounds were the same as those still preserved in these languages—the high-front-narrow and the high-back-narrow-round.

OO

Corresponds to original *ō*, as in *gōd*, *mōdor*. The sound was no doubt the same as that still preserved in Danish and Swedish, namely the mid-back-narrow-round, but without the abnormal rounding of the *ó* of these languages.¹

YY

Is the umlaut of *ū*, as in *mȳs* = *mūsi*, plural of *mūs*. In some words, such as *fȳr* (Old German *vinuwar*), it is a simplification of *iu* by diphthongal convergence. Its pronunciation cannot well have been anything else than the high-front-narrow-round.

Diphthongs.

EA.

Whenever original *a* comes before consonant-combinations beginning with *l*, *r*, or *h*, it is not changed into *æ*, but becomes *ea*, as in *eall*, *wearm*, *weax*. There can be no doubt that this *ea* was a true diphthong: its elements are never reversed (p. 23), nor is it confounded with *ae* or *æ*. The only question is whether the stress was

¹ See my paper on Danish Pronunciation (Trans. Phil. Soc. 1873-4, p. 101).

on the first or the second element. There is evidence which seems to point to the conclusion that the stress fell on the *a*. In Middle English *ea* is generally lost, but in the archaic fourteenth century Kentish of the Ayenbite, the old diphthong is still preserved in such words as *eald*, *healden*. But this *ea* is very often represented by *ya*, sometimes by *yea*, so that the Old English *eald* appears as *cald*, *yald* and *yeald*. Here we have the glide-vowel represented by the Middle English consonant *y*, showing clearly that the stress was on the *a*. As to the origin of the *ea*, the theory first propounded by Rapp (*Physiologie der Sprache*, ii. 145) seems the most probable, namely that *a* first became *æ* before *all* consonants (except nasals), so that *ald* became *æld*, and that this *æ* was then diphthongized into *ea* or rather *æa*.

EO.

Similarly, when *é* comes before *r*, *l* and *h*-combinations, it is diphthongized into *eo*, as in *eorðe*, *meole*, *feoh*. In the Kentish and Northumbrian documents this *eo* is generally represented by *ea*, *eorðe* being written *earðe*. In the word *eart* (from *ért*) *eo* never occurs in any of the dialects—the normal *eort* being unknown even in West-Saxon. When we consider that *é* in Icelandic also is changed into *ia* (*ea* in the oldest MSS.), as in *hiarta*=Old E. *heorte*, there seems to be every probability that *ea* was the older sound, which in *eart* was preserved in all the dialects, on account of its excessive frequency. As *eo* is never (except in *eart*) confused with *ea*=*a* in the standard West-Saxon, we must suppose that the series of changes, *é*, *ea*, *eo*, was already completed when *ea*=*a* began to develope itself. The rounding of *ea* into *eo* is a very curious phenomenon. The frequent rounding of vowels before *l*, of which the Modern English *sòlt* from *salt* is an instance, would lead us to suppose that the change first began before *l*, and then extended to the other words. The analogy of Modern Icelandic, in which the first element of the *ia* has developed into a consonant, and of the Middle Kentish *y* in *yald*, make it very probable that the stress was on the second element.

EAA.

Besides the *ea* from *a*, there is another *ea*, which answers to original *au*, as in *dream*=Gothic *draum*. As this *ea* is distinct in origin and in subsequent development from the other *ea*, it must have been distinct in sound. The only conceivable distinctions are stress and quantity, that is, the *ea*=*au* may have been distinguished either by having the stress on the first element, or else by its accented vowel being long. The former supposition is made untenable by both the Middle Kentish *ya*, as in *dyaþ*, and the Norse spelling *Iatvarðr* (= *Játvarðr*) for *Eadveard*: these examples show that *ea*=*au* had the stress on the same vowel as *ea*=*a*. We are driven, therefore, to the hypothesis that *ea*=*au* had its second element long—*dreaam*. This view is confirmed by the Modern English form of the preterite *ceās* (Gothic *kaus*) which is *chóóz*—an anomaly which is quite inexplicable, except on the assumption of an original long *aa*. The development of the word is clearly *ce-aas*, *ce-òòs*; *chòòs*, *chóóz*. This seems to be what Rask meant by his accentuating *éa*, which Grimm also adopted, although Grimm does not seem to have attached any idea of lengthening to the accent.

The development of *eea* out of *au* is one of the most difficult questions in Teutonic philology. All the explanations hitherto given are utterly unsatisfactory, and I will not waste time in criticising them, but rather state what I consider to be the only tenable theory, which, as far as I know, has never been made public, although I was glad to learn from Professor Kern, of Leiden, that it had suggested itself to him also. The explanation we propose is simply this. *au* first became *aa*, as in Frisian. This *aa* followed the short *a* and became *ææ*. The *ææ* was then resolved into *eea* or *æaa*. We must suppose that these changes took place before *ai* became *aa*: otherwise there would have been a confusion between *aa*=*au* and *aa*=*ai*. There are, of course, certain difficulties still remaining. The development of a diphthong with one of its elements long is anomalous, and we would expect the diphthongization of the hypothetical

ææ to take place, like that of short *æ*, only before certain consonants. It is, however, quite possible that the diphthongization of long *ææ* was much earlier than that of short *æ*, and that the two phenomena are therefore independent. If so, *ææ* may at first have developed into simple *ea* and the lengthening of the *a* may have been a secondary process.

E00

Answers to original *iu*, as in *deop*=Gothic *diup*. There can be no doubt that this *eo*=*iu* was distinct from the *eo*=*é*, and every analogy would lead us to suppose that the difference was one of quantity. Positive confirmation is afforded by the English *chuuz*, which points as clearly to an Old English *ceóósan* as *chóóz* does to a *ceaas*. The Icelandic *ióó*, as in *kióósa* (Modern *kjousa*), shows the same anomalous lengthening of the second element.

There is some uncertainty about the first elements of these diphthongs. Some clue is however afforded by the interchange of *e* with *i* in *eo* and *eo*, which never happens with *ea* and *ea*: we often find such forms as *iorðe* for *eorðe*, but never *hiard* for *heard*. The inference clearly is that in *éó* and *eo* the initial vowel was closer and higher than in *ea*, *ea*, probably through the assimilative influence of the second element. The diphthongs are then strictly *éó*, *éóó*, *èa*, *èaa* (or possibly *æa*, *æaa*).

For the sake of comparison, I append a table giving Mr. Ellis's results (Early English Pronunciation, p. 534) together

LETTERS.	ELLIS.	SWEET.	LETTERS.	ELLIS.	SWEET.
a.....	a, a	a	ā	aa.....	aa
æ	æ	æ	æ	ææ	ææ
ò.....	o	o	ē	ee.....	ee
ì.....	i	i	ī	ii	ii
è.....	e	e	ō	oo.....	eo
é.....	e	e	ū	uu.....	uu
u.....	u, u?	u	ȳ	yy, ii	ii
ó.....	o	o	ea.....	ea, eá	Eá (æa?)
y.....	y, i	i	eo.....	eo, eó	éó
			eā.....	ea, eá	Eáá
			eō.....	eo, eó	eóó

with my own, both in palæotype. It will be observed that Mr. Ellis (like all his predecessors) confounds the two short *es* and *os*, which I have carefully distinguished. He is also not clear as to the distinction between *ea*, *eo*, and *eā*, *eō*. Otherwise our results approximate very closely.

MIDDLE ENGLISH PERIOD.

ORTHOGRAPHY.

Some important revolutions in orthography took place during the transition from the Old to the Middle period—most of them the result of French influence.

There are many instances of French influence on the consonant notation: in the vowels two cases require special notice, these are the use of *u* for the Old English *y*, and of *ou* for the Old English *uu*. The explanation of the former change must be sought in the fact that *y* in the Middle period lost its original value, and became confused with *i*, while in the beginning of words it assumed its present consonantal value. The result was that the old sound of *y* was left without a symbol, and the want was supplied, imperfectly enough, by adopting the French representation of the sound, which was *u*. But *u* was further employed, also in imitation of French usage, to represent the voiced sound of the Old E. *f*, so that *u*, which still retained its original pronunciation in many cases, stood for three distinct sounds. In course of time the short *y*-sound disappeared more and more, and at the same time a large number of long *ys* were introduced in words taken from the French, which were all written with *u* (*nature*, etc.). To remedy the consequent confusion between *u*=*yy* and *u*=*uu* (*hus*, etc.), the French *ou* was introduced as the representation of the latter sound, so that *natyyre* and *huus* were distinguished in writing as *nature* and *hous*. For the details of the change of *u* into *ou* I must refer to Mr. Ellis's *Early English Pronunciation*, where the subject is treated at great length.

These changes are important, as showing that the Middle

English scribes were not at all biassed by traditions of the earlier orthography, and therefore that their testimony can be unhesitatingly accepted, as far as it goes.

We may now turn to the actual sound-changes, beginning with the most important and characteristic of them all, which I will call

VOWEL-LEVELLING.

In the Transition period (Semi-Saxon) we are confronted by the curious and apparently inexplicable phenomenon of a language ignoring, as it were, the changes of an earlier period, and returning to the original sounds. Such is at least the case with the Old English modifications of *a* and *é*: where Old English has *æ*, *ea* or *eo*, Middle English has the unmodified *a* and *e*. Compare *glæd*, *heard*, *seofon*, with the Middle English *glad*, *hard*, *seven*.

Such a change as that of *glæd* into *glad* is doubly anomalous, both as being a return to a pronunciation older than that of the oldest extant documents before the Conquest, and also as a change from a weak front to a strong back vowel. It is, in short, inexplicable, if considered as an ordinary organic sound-change. The explanation must be sought among the inorganic sound-changes, due to some purely external cause.

One of the most unmistakable of these inorganic sound-changes is one which may be called levelling. The whole history of English inflection is mainly one of levelling. Thus, in Old English we find the plural formed in a great variety of ways, sometimes in *as*, sometimes in *an*, sometimes with different vowels, and sometimes without any change at all. In Modern English we have only the first, which, originally restricted to a limited number of masculine substantives, is now extended to all substantives without distinction. It would evidently be absurd to attempt to explain these changes as organic, to adduce, for instance, the change of the Old English plural *heortan* into the Modern *harts* as a case of *n* becoming *s*. They are clearly due to external causes, and are simply the result of that tendency to get rid

of useless complexity which characterizes the more advanced stages of language: instead of indicating plurality by a variety of terminations, some of which were of a very vague and indistinct character, the later language selected that termination which seemed the most distinctive, and discarded the rest.

We can now understand how men who were engaged every day of their lives in this levelling process, whose language was being broken up and reconstructed with unexampled rapidity—we can understand how those who spoke the Transition English of the twelfth century came unconsciously to regard the alternation of *æ* and *a* in such words as *dæg*, *dagas*, as an unnecessary piece of discrimination, comparable to that involved in the use of a large number of plural terminations. And so the indistinct *æ*—so liable to be confounded with *è*—was discarded, and the clear sounding *a* was made the sole representative of the older *a* and *æ*.

When this process of levelling had once begun, it is easy to see how *ea* and *eo* also came to be regarded as superfluous modifications of *a* and *e*, and were therefore in like manner discarded. As we shall see hereafter, *caa* and *coo* (=original *au* and *iu*) were simplified into *èè* and *éé* respectively; it is, therefore, probable that *ea* and *eo* themselves were first simplified into *è* and *é*. It is further probable that the first sound of the *è*=*ea* was identical with that of the Old English *æ*. *heard* would, therefore, become *hærd*, whose *æ* would naturally follow the other *æs*, and become *a*, giving the Middle English *hard*. The three spellings *heard*, *hærd*, and *hard* are to be found constantly interchanging in *Laxamon* and other writers of the period.

Whatever may be the explanation of the fact, there can be no doubt that the Old English *æ*, *ea*, *eo*, were lost in the Middle period, and that the mysterious connection between the Old English *æ* and the Modern sound in such a word as *mæn* (written *man*) imagined by some philologists, must be given up: the two *æs* are quite independent developments, even when they occur in the same words, as in *ðæt*, *sæt*, *sæd*, *æppel*. Mr. Ellis has shown that up to the seventeenth

century these words were pronounced *ŷat*, *sat*, *sad*, *apl*, even in the court dialect, and the sound *æ* is unknown up to the present day in most of our dialects.

Before investigating the sound-changes of the Middle period in detail, it will be necessary to state the general laws which govern the remarkable qualitative divergence of long and short vowels in the later Teutonic languages. If it can once be shown that all the Teutonic languages follow the same general laws, it is but reasonable to suppose that the same laws will be found valid in the case of Middle English also. We shall have still less hesitation in applying these laws to the elucidation of the Middle English sound-changes, when we consider that the English of the thirteenth century was really as much in advance of its contemporaries as Modern English is of its, and that Middle English is practically on a level with Dutch and the other living Teutonic languages. German, indeed, is in many respects much more archaic than Middle English, and may be said to stand to it in almost the same relation as Old English does.

I propose, therefore, to give an impartial classification of the principal changes that have taken place in the living Teutonic languages, beginning with the long vowels.

A. Long Vowels.

1) Back to round (p. 11). Long *a*, whatever its origin, has in all the Teutonic languages except German and Dutch been rounded. Even German and Dutch show the same change in many of their dialects, which give long *a* the sound of the low-back-narrow-round (English *fall*). This is also the Swedish and Danish sound, the only difference being that the Scandinavian vowel is pronounced with greater lip narrowing, so that its sound approximates to that of the regular close *ó* (the "mid" vowel).

2) Front-round to unrounded (page 11). Exemplified in the familiar German change of *æ* and *y* into *é* and *i*, as in *shéén* and *kiin* for *shææn* and *kyyn*. In Modern Icelandic *ææ* became first unrounded, and the resulting *ee* ran

II.

TEUTONIC LONG VOWELS.¹

	AA	II	OO		UU		AI	AU	IU
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1 Gothic	<i>ded</i>	<i>wein</i>	<i>god</i>	—	<i>hus</i>	—	<i>stain</i>	<i>draum</i>	<i>diup</i>
2 Old High German	<i>tāt</i>	<i>wīn</i>	<i>guot</i>	<i>gruoni</i>	<i>hūs</i>	<i>hūsir</i>	<i>stain</i> <i>stein</i>	<i>traum</i> <i>troum</i>	<i>tiuf</i>
3 Modern High German	<i>taat</i>	<i>wain</i>	<i>guut</i>	<i>gryyn</i>	<i>haus</i>	<i>hayzer</i>	<i>shtain</i>	<i>traum</i>	<i>tiif</i>
4 Old Saxon	<i>dad</i>	<i>win</i>	<i>god</i>	<i>groni</i>	<i>hus</i>	—	<i>sten</i>	<i>drom</i>	<i>diop</i>
5 Dutch	<i>daat</i>	<i>wèin</i>	<i>ghut</i>	<i>ghrun</i>	<i>hœys</i> <i>zyyr</i>	—	<i>stéén</i>	<i>dróóm</i>	<i>dip</i>
6 Old Icelandic	<i>dāð</i>	<i>wīn</i>	<i>góð</i>	<i>græn</i>	<i>hūs</i>	<i>kýr</i>	<i>stèin</i>	<i>draum</i>	<i>dīup</i> <i>siön</i>
7 Modern Icelandic	<i>danð</i>	<i>viin</i>	<i>góuð</i>	<i>grain</i>	<i>huus</i>	<i>kiir'</i>	<i>stéin</i>	<i>drœim</i>	<i>djuup</i> <i>sjóun</i>
8 Swedish	<i>dòòd</i>	<i>viin</i>	<i>góód</i>	<i>grœæn</i>	<i>huus</i> ²	<i>lyytə</i>	<i>stéén</i>	<i>drœm</i>	<i>djuup</i> <i>syyn</i>
9 Danish	<i>dòòð</i>	<i>viin</i>	<i>góóð</i>	<i>grœn</i>	<i>huus</i>	<i>lyyðə</i>	<i>stéén</i>	<i>drœm</i>	<i>dyyb</i> <i>syyn</i>
10 Old English	<i>dæd</i>	<i>wīn</i>	<i>god</i>	<i>grene</i>	<i>hus</i>	<i>eȳ</i>	<i>stan</i>	<i>dream</i> (=eaa)	<i>deop</i> (=eóó)
11 Middle English	<i>deed</i> (=éé)	<i>wiin</i>	<i>good</i> (=óó)	<i>green</i> (=éé)	<i>hou(s)e</i> (=uu)	<i>kȳe</i>	<i>ston(e)</i> (=óó)	<i>dream</i> (=èè)	<i>deep</i> (=éé)
12 Modern English	<i>ddii</i>	<i>wain</i>	<i>gud</i>	<i>griin</i>	<i>haus</i>	<i>kai</i>	<i>stóun</i>	<i>driim</i>	<i>diip</i>

¹ In this and the following table the actual spelling (not the theoretical pronunciation) of the dead languages is given in italics; the modern forms are written phonetically.

² The italics indicate the peculiar Swedish *u*—intermediate to *u* and *y*.

together with the regular *èè*, and, like it, was diphthongized into *ai*, so that the Old Icelandic *bækr* is now disguised under the form of *baikr*. The same change took place in Old English, only it was not carried so far: the *bæc* (written *boec* or *beoc*, p. 23) of the oldest period appears in the later MSS. as *bec* (= *béek*). In Middle English we have the unrounding of *y* into *i*, *cynig* becoming *cing*.

3) Low to mid. Modern English, as will be shown hereafter, affords two unmistakable instances of this change. It is also certain that the German *óó* from *au* was originally "low," for in the Oldest High German such words as *lóós* (= *laus*) are frequently written *laos*. Similar evidence can be adduced in the case of the corresponding Dutch *óó*. The *ee* from *ai* has in like manner passed through the low to the mid stage in German and Dutch.

4) Mid to high. Of this change, again, Modern English affords illustrations, whose consideration must be deferred. Original *óó* has in nearly all the Teutonic languages been raised from the mid position it still preserves in Swedish and Danish (although even here with a slight labial modification in the direction of *u*) to the high one of *u*.

5) High to diphthong. With the high position the extreme is reached, as far as position is concerned. We find, accordingly, that the two high vowels *ii* and *uu* either remain unchanged, which is the case in the Scandinavian languages, or else undergo various modifications in the direction of *ai* and *au*. As there can be no question that Middle English agreed with the Scandinavian languages in retaining long *i* and *u* unchanged, the consideration of their diphthongization may be deferred till we come to the Modern period, to which belongs also the development of the diphthong *iu* out of *yy*.

6) Besides these regular modifications of the two high vowels, there are isolated diphthongizations of other vowels.

a) *óó* to *ou*. In Icelandic *gouð* for the older *góóð*, and Modern English *stóun* for *stóón*.

b) *éé* to *ei*. In the Modern English *téik* for *téék*.

c) *óó* to *uo*. In the Old German *quot* for *góót*, still preserved in South German in the shape of *guot*.

- d) *ðð* to *au*. In Icelandic, where original *aa* passed through the stage of simple rounding (*ðð*), and was then resolved into *au*, *laata* (let) becoming first *lòðta* and then *lauta*.
- e) *èè* to *ai*. The *i*-umlaut of *aa* has in the same way been resolved into *ai* in Modern Icelandic, so that *vèèri* (written *væri*) is now *vairi*.
- 7) Back to front. Exemplified in the Dutch *zyyr* for *zuur*.

B. Short Vowels.

1) Round to unrounded. In Icelandic, English, and some German dialects *y* has been unrounded into *i*. The same is the case with short *æ* in German. In Modern English we have, lastly, a very anomalous case of unrounding of the back vowel *u*, *but* becoming *bət*.

2) Back to front. Short *u* has in Icelandic and Dutch been changed into a front vowel—the high-front-wide-round in Icelandic, the low-front-narrow-round (or its imitation, the mid-mixed-narrow) in Dutch. The open *ò* in Icelandic (the *u*-umlaut of *a*) has changed into *æ* (the mid-front-wide-round), *mònnun* becoming *mænnym*. Short *a* has, lastly, been changed into the low-front-wide (*æ*) in a few English dialects—including the literary English.

3) Mid to low. The two mid vowels *é* and *ó* have in all the Teutonic languages been brought down to the low position, so that the old distinction between *è* and *é* has been lost everywhere, except, perhaps, in some German dialects: compare Old English *ènde*, *hélpan*, with the Modern levellings *ènd*, *hèlp*.

2) High to mid. As a general rule the high vowels *i* and *u* have retained their positions, but in Dutch the short *i* is now represented by the mid-front-wide, and the short *u* by *ó* (the mid-narrow), thus taking the place of original short *o*, which, as in the other languages, has been lowered to *ò* (the low-wide): compare *stòk* with *bók* (= *buk*). The peculiar Modern English *u* in *but* (*bət*) seems also to be a case of lowering from high to mid.

III.

TEUTONIC SHORT VOWELS.

	A				I				U			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1 Gothic	<i>mann</i>	<i>namo</i> <i>wakan</i>	<i>andi-</i>	<i>nati</i> <i>mati-</i>	<i>wiman</i>	<i>witan</i>	<i>drigkan</i> <i>hilpan</i>	<i>sunno</i>	<i>sumru</i>	<i>ufla</i>	<i>hul</i>	<i>fuljon</i>
2 Old Icel.	<i>mann</i> <i>mónnum</i>	<i>vaka</i>	<i>endi</i>	<i>nèt</i>	<i>vinna</i>	<i>vita</i>	<i>drékka</i>	<i>sunna</i>	<i>sunar</i>	<i>opt</i>	<i>hól</i>	<i>fylla</i>
3 Mod. Icel.	<i>man</i> <i>mennum</i>	<i>vaaka</i>	<i>endi</i>	<i>nèt</i>	<i>vinna</i> ¹	<i>viita</i>	<i>drékka</i>	<i>synna</i>	<i>symar</i>	<i>òft</i>	<i>hòðl</i>	<i>fiðla</i> <i>Sw. fylla</i>
4 Old Engl.	<i>mann</i> <i>heard</i> <i>lóng</i>	<i>nama</i>	<i>ende</i>	<i>mèle</i>	<i>wimman</i>	<i>witan</i>	<i>hélpan</i> <i>heofon</i>	<i>sunne</i>	<i>sumor</i>	<i>ýft</i>	<i>hól</i>	<i>fyllan</i>
5 Mid. Engl.	<i>man</i> <i>hard</i> <i>long</i> (=ò)	<i>name</i> (=naam)	<i>end</i> (=è)	<i>meat</i> (=èè)	<i>win</i>	<i>wit</i>	<i>help</i> <i>heren</i> (=è)	<i>sun</i>	<i>summer</i> (=summer)	<i>oft</i> (=ò)	<i>hole</i> (=hòòl)	<i>fill</i>
6 Mod. Engl.	<i>mænn</i> <i>haed</i> <i>lòng</i>	<i>ném</i>	<i>ènd</i>	<i>mīt</i>	<i>winn</i>	<i>wit</i>	<i>hèlp</i> <i>hèven</i>	<i>san</i>	<i>somər</i>	<i>òft</i>	<i>hòul</i>	<i>fil</i>

¹ Italics indicate wide vowels.

The only exception to this general lowering tendency is the frequent shifting of the *a* from the low to the mid position, which is very common in all the languages. The low sound is still preserved in South Scotch, Dutch, and many German dialects, and may be heard in some of the London dialects, where, however, it is probably quite a modern development.

We have, lastly, to consider the important distinction of narrow and wide. Here, also, short and long vowels pursue opposite courses, the general rule being that long vowels remain or become narrow, short vowels wide. These tendencies are at once apparent on comparing any pairs of long and short vowels in the more advanced Teutonic languages, in fact in all of them more or less, except German.

The principle has been carried out with such strictness in the case of the long vowels that, with the single exception of *aa*, all originally long vowels are now narrow in the Teutonic languages. The cause of this exceptional widening of *aa* has already been explained (page 28) as the result of the greater energy required in the formation of the narrow sound.

The short vowels are less consistent. In the first place, some of the languages show the tendency to widening either not at all, or else only partially. In South German all the short vowels are still narrow, including even the *a* (p. 28). In Danish and Swedish short *i* is sometimes narrow, sometimes wide, according to the nature of the following consonant.

The languages in which the principle is most strictly carried out are Icelandic and English. The only exceptions are the *è*, which is narrow in both languages, and the English *ø* in *bæt* (mid-back-narrow). The retention of the narrow *è* in all the Teutonic languages is a very curious phenomenon: it is not easy to see why it did not everywhere weaken into the wide *æ*, which it actually has done in the Dutch *kærk* for *kèrk* and several other words, and also in the South Scotch dialect of Teviotdale, where the English distinction of *mæn*, *mèn*, is represented by *man*, *mæn*.

The change of the low-narrow *è* into the mid-wide is, on the other hand, very common, and in many of the languages, as, for instance, English, the two sounds seem to be used almost indiscriminately. This change is, no doubt, a purely imitative one: the change from the low-narrow to the mid-wide must have been direct. To assume that the low-narrow was first widened, and then raised to the mid position, would be to ignore the fundamental laws of short vowel change.

We now see how complete the divergence is between long and short vowels. Long vowels contract both the pharyngeal and the oral passage as much as possible, the former by "narrowing," the latter by raising the tongue and contracting the lips; short vowels pursue the very opposite course; high long vowels are never lowered, except partially by diphthongization; high short vowels are never diphthongized, but simply lowered.

QUANTITY.

The general principles on which quantitative changes in the Teutonic languages depend are these:

- 1) unaccented vowels are shortened, accented vowels are lengthened or shortened under certain conditions, which are:
- 2) before a single consonant they are lengthened.
- 3) before double or combined consonants they are shortened.

The result of all these changes, if carried out strictly, would be to eliminate all short accented syllables altogether, and this is actually the case in Modern Icelandic, at least in polysyllables—either the vowel itself is long, or else, if it is short, the syllable is made long by a double consonant. In the other languages, however, the double consonants have been simplified, so that a large number of short accented syllables has been formed: compare Icelandic *vinna* with Danish *vinø* (written *vinde*) and English *winør*, *wining*, German *gəwinən*. This simplification of double consonants has

taken place in Icelandic also in the case of monosyllables such as *man* (written *mann*).

An important result of the simplification is the use of double consonants as a purely graphic expedient to denote the shortness of the preceding vowel. The double *m*, for instance, in *summer*, is simply a way of showing that the original shortness of the *u* has been preserved.

In Icelandic the lengthening of short vowels has been carried out with perfect consistency, but in the other languages there are many exceptions. Thus in Dutch all monosyllables preserve their shortness: compare *vat*, *lôt*, with the plurals *vaaten*, *lóóten*. The retention of original short quantity before single consonants is also very frequent in Modern, and consequently also in Middle English.

The chief cases in which Modern English preserves the Old English short quantity are these.

In the first place the high vowels *i(y)*, *u* are not lengthened: compare *wit* from *witan* with *iit* from *etan*, *sən* from *sunu* and *cəm* from *cuman* with *néim* from *nama*. Exceptions, such as *aivi* from *ifig*, do occur, but they are very few.

English, like Dutch, shows a strong tendency to preserve short quantity in monosyllables, although there are many cases of lengthening. Nevertheless, it may safely be said that the great majority of Old English monosyllables preserve their short quantity in Modern English. Examples are: *swon* (from *swan*), *þæch* (*þæc*), *bæc* (*bæc*), *sæd* (*sæd*), *lot* (*hlot*), *god* (*god*), *woz* (*wæs*). Examples of lengthening are *géiv* (*geaf*), *céim* (*cam*), *éit* (*æt*), *géit* (*geat*), *yóuc* (*geoc*). The lengthened vowels in the adjectives *téim* and *léit* may perhaps have arisen from the definite forms *tama*, *lata*.

Dissyllables ending in a vowel, or the infinitival *an*, are almost always lengthened: *nama*, *scamu*, *flotian*, *brecan*, become *néim*, *shéim*, *flóut*, *bréic*. But there are exceptions: *dropa* becomes *drop*, and *hafan* (= *habban*) becomes *hæv*, contrasting with the regular *behéiv* (from *behabban*).

But besides these isolated irregularities, there is a whole class of dissyllables which resists the lengthening tendency, namely those which end in a liquid or nasal. Examples are

hæmər (from *hamor*), *betər* (*bèter*), *sædl* (*sadol*), *ævən* (*ofen*), *botəm* (*botom*). There are, however, several exceptions. In the first place, all the past participles in *o* (except *trodn*) lengthen their vowel: *frouzən*, *chóuzən*, *clóuvən*, etc. There are also others, such as *iivən* (*efen*), *óuvər* (*ofer*), *eicər* (*æcer*), etc.

In applying these deductions to Middle English we are confronted by a formidable difficulty. The Midland writer Orm, as is well known, indicates short vowel quantity by doubling the following consonant. If, then, we find Orm in the thirteenth century writing always *witenn*, *sune*, not *wittenn*, *sunne*, how can we escape the conclusion that he said *wiiten*, *suune*? If we accept the long vowels for the thirteenth century, we are forced to assume that the original short vowels were first lengthened and then shortened again before the diphthongization of *ii* and *uu* into *ei* and *ou*; for, otherwise, we should have had *wait* and *saun* in Modern English. Rather than accept this very improbable hypothesis, it seems safer to reserve any decided conclusion till the difficult question of quantity in the Ormulum has been more fully investigated.

The Modern forms of many words point clearly to their originally long vowels having been shortened in the Middle period. Besides the frequent shortening before two consonants, which will be considered hereafter, there are some cases before single consonants. Long *ii* is, as might be expected, often shortened, as in *stif*, *dich*, and in other words where it stands for various other O.E. long vowels, such as *sili*=O.E. *gesǣlig* and *chil*=*cēle*. Examples of other vowels are *ten*=O.E. *ten*, *wet*=*wǣt*, *let*=*lǣtan*, *lēt*. In *ever*=*ǣver*=*æfre*, the shortening may be ascribed to the liquid in the following syllable.

CLOSE AND OPEN EE AND OO IN MIDDLE ENGLISH.

We can now enter on the important question of the distinction between close and open *ee* and *oo* in Middle English.

Mr. Ellis, relying on the fact that Chaucer rhymes all the *ees* and *oos* together without distinction, comes to the conclu-

sion that there was only one sound, but he does not explain how the modern distinctions arose, or how it is that they correspond to distinctions in Old English. If *too* and *taa* are distinct in Old English, and are separated in the form of *tuu* and *too* in Modern English also, it is not easy to see how they could have been confounded in the Middle period. This view was vaguely indicated many years ago by Rapp, and has been recently revived by Dr. Weymouth, who is, however, clearly wrong in assuming that the Middle English sounds were identical with the Modern ones.

As the whole question offers considerable difficulties of detail, I propose to examine it as impartially as possible, utilizing all the evidence that is afforded by the graphic forms, by the general laws of change just stated, by the pronunciation of the sixteenth century, as investigated by Mr. Ellis, and by the pronunciation of the present day. I begin with the *oos*, as offering less difficulty than the *eēs*.

Beginning, then, with the *oos*, we find that Middle English *oo* corresponds to three distinct sounds in Old English,

- 1) to *óó*: *too*, O.E. *tóó* (*too*),
- 2) to *aa*: *too*, O.E. *taa* (*toe*),
- 3) to *ó* short: *hool*, O.E. *hól* (*hole*).

Of these three *oos* the two first are kept quite distinct in the present Modern English, original *óó* being now pronounced *uu*, while *oo* from *aa* is now *óó* or *óu*. The natural inference that the two sounds were also kept distinct in the Middle period is fully confirmed by the graphic evidence, for in the earlier writings the *oo* from *aa* is often spelt *oa*, as in *oaðe*=O.E. *aaðe* (Lazamon), *noan*=*naan* (Procl. of H. III.), *moare*=*maare* (Procl. and A. Riwle), *þoa*=*þaa* (A. Riwle). The clear inference is that the *oo* from *aa* was pronounced with a sound intermediate to *oo* and *aa*, and consequently that original *oo* still retained its Old English sound.

The *oo* of *hool*, arising from original short *ó*, is in the present pronunciation represented by the same vowel as the *oo* from *aa*: it is therefore highly probable that it had in Middle English the same sound as the *oo* from *aa*, namely the more open one.

We may now examine the question from the comparative point of view, and see whether the results harmonize.

The first two *oos* need not detain us long. We have seen that original *óó* is, as a general rule, either retained without change, or else moved up into the *u*-position. It is quite certain that this change had not taken place in the Middle period: *óó* must, therefore, have been kept unchanged. Again, whenever *aa* has changed, it has been by rounding. It has been already proved that the Old English *aa* cannot well have been any other sound than the low-wide, and this, when rounded, naturally gives the low-back-wide-round.

The *o* of *hol* was almost certainly the mid-narrow sound (p. 30). The tendencies of short vowels are, as we have seen, towards lowering and widening. These modifications, applied to our vowel, give the low-back-wide-round. This vowel was then lengthened, and became identical with the *òò* of *tòò* from *taa*, which, as we have seen, was no other than the low-back-wide-round.

But all long vowels are liable to be narrowed (p. 30), and we find, as a matter of fact, that the *òò* from *aa* is narrow in all the living Teutonic languages which possess it. It is, therefore, not only possible, but extremely probable that the *òò* soon became narrow in Middle English also: *tòò* and *hòòl* would therefore have the sound of the Modern English words which are written *taw* and *haul*.

We may now turn to the *ees*. In the present English all the *ees* are levelled under *ii*, but Mr. Ellis's researches have proved that in the sixteenth century a distinction parallel to that of the two *oos* was still kept up, some of the Middle English *ees* being pronounced *ee*, some *ii*, those words which are now written with *ea* (such as *sea*) having the *ee*-sound, while *ee* (as in *see*) had the *ii*-sound. The analogy of the *oos* leads us to suppose that the sixteenth century *ees* correspond to Middle English *èès*, and the *iis* to *éés*. I will now give an example of the different *ees*, with the original Old English forms, together with those of the sixteenth century and the Middle English forms indicated by them, adding the present English spelling, which is, of course, nothing but a dead

tradition of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries pronunciation.

TENTH CENT.	FOURTEENTH CENT.	SIXTEENTH CENT.	NINETEENTH CENT.
sæ	sèè	sée	sii (<i>sea</i>)
dæd	dééd.....	diid	diid (<i>deed</i>)
dreām	drèēm	dréém	driim (<i>dream</i>)
grēne	gréen	grīn.....	grīn (<i>green</i>)
deōp	déép.....	diip	diip (<i>deep</i>)
mête	{mète }	méét	mīt (<i>meat</i>)
	{mèèt }		
stélan.....	{stèlan }	stéél.....	stiil (<i>steal</i>)
	{stèel }		

Reserving for the present the apparently anomalous *ée* of *dééd*, the other changes, after what has been said on the *oos*, call for only a few remarks.

Old English *æ* and *ē* remain unchanged in the Middle period. Of the two diphthongs *eā*, when simplified, naturally takes the low position of its principal element (the *ā*), and *eō*, as naturally, takes the mid position of its *ō*. *é*, following the usual tendencies of short vowels, is lowered, and the two short *es* are consequently levelled under the common form *è*, which is afterwards lengthened. All the vowels either remain or become narrow.

An important class of apparent exceptions is exemplified in *dæd*, whose *æ* is represented in Middle English not by *èè*, as would be expected, but by *ée*. An examination of these anomalous *æ*s soon reveals the fact that they correspond not to Gothic and general Teutonic *ai*, but to Gothic *ē*, general Teutonic *ā* (Gothic *dēds*, Old High German *tāt*). This is clearly one of the many cases in which the explanation of later English forms must be sought not in the literary West-Saxon, but rather in the Mercian dialect, in which the distinction between *ée*=original *aa* and *èè*=*ai* was still kept up. In short, the Middle English *dééd* is descended not from *dæd*, but from *dēd*. Traces of this older *ée* have been preserved in West-Saxon also, not only in such words as *wēn* and *cwēn*, but also in the *rēd* of the name *Ælfrēd*, which is never written *ræd*—the regular form of the substantive *ræd*, when it stands alone.

UNACCENTED E.

Middle English, like the majority of the living Teutonic languages, levels all the Old English unaccented vowels under *e*: compare Old E. *caru*, *nama*, *gifan*, with the Middle forms *care*, *name*, *given*. The sound of this *e* in Modern German, Swedish, Danish, and Dutch, is the mid-mixed-narrow, although, as we have seen (p. 30), there are traces of an older front sound, which we have theoretically assigned to the Old English final *e*. When we consider that the Middle English *e* in the fourteenth century was on the verge of extinction, we cannot well claim for it so archaic a sound as in Old English, and the analogy of the modern languages points clearly to some mixed vowel. Nor is graphic evidence wanting. The confusion and uncertainty of usage in the Middle English orthography shows clearly that the scribes were not satisfied with the letter *e* as a representative of the sound of unaccented *e*. In Wiclif's Bible, for instance, we find, besides the regular *ende*, *synnes*, such spellings as *mannis*, *mannys*, *fadir*, *opyn*, *writun*, *locustus*, constantly occurring. It is not improbable that the *u* is intended for the French *u* (= *y*), and that this spelling is an attempt to represent the obscure sound of the mid-mixed, which, like all the mixed vowels, has a distinctly *labial* effect on the ear (p. 16).

DIPHTHONGS.

Middle English, while simplifying, as we have seen, the Old English diphthongs, developed some new ones of its own. All the Middle English diphthongs, with the exception of those in words taken from Norse and French, arose from weakening of the consonants *g* and *w*, by which *g* passed through *gh* (as in German *sagen*) into *i* or *u*, and *w* into *u*. The most important of these diphthongs are *ai*, *au*, *eu*, and *ou*.

ai arises from O.E. *ag* (*æg*), *ég*, *èg*, *ēg*, *ǣg*: *dai* (from *dæg*), *wai* (*wæg*), *sai* (*sæg*), *hai* (*hæg*), *clai* (*clæg*).

au arises from O.E. *aw*, *ag*: *clau* (*clawu*), *drau* (*dragan*).

eu arises from O.E. *inc*, *īw*, *ēw*, *eāw*, *eōw* : *neu* (*niue*), *speu* (*spīwan*), *leud* (*lēwed*), *heu* (*heāwan*), *cneu* (*cneōw*).

ou (*òou*, *óou*) arises from O.E. *āw*, *ōw* : *sòou* (*sāwan*), *blóou* (*blōwan*).

The development of *ai* from *èi* (*sai*=*sèi*=*sèegan*) is paralleled by the Danish pronunciation of *ei* (as in *vei*=*veg*) as *ai*, and is probably the result of an attempt to bring out the diphthongic character of the combination more clearly. There are, however, traces of original *ei* even in the Modern period, in such words as *eiht*, *eiðer*=*eahta*, *ægðer*.

It will be observed that *ag* sometimes becomes *ai*, sometimes *au*. The general rule is that *ag* final or before a consonant becomes *ai*, while, if followed by the back vowels *a* or *u*, the diphthong *au* is developed. Thus, *dag* (*dæg*), *tagl* (*tæg*l), *magn* (*mægen*), become *dai*, *tail*, *main*, while *dragan*, *sagu*, become *drau*, *sau*. We have, however, *sau* from *sage*.

The change of *i* into *eu* in the combination *iu*, and the levelling of the quantities of *īw*, *ēw*, etc., must be noticed, although the cause is not apparent.

That the *ou*-diphthongs preserved the long quantity of their first elements is clear from the accounts of the sixteenth century phoneticians; the separation of *òou* and *óou* is theoretical.

In the combinations *ig* and *ug* the consonant is naturally absorbed by the vowel, the result being simply a long vowel: *lii* (*liegan*), *wul* (*ugle*).

CONSONANT INFLUENCE.

Quantity. Short vowels are lengthened before liquids and nasals followed by a voice stop—before *ld*, *nd*, *mb* (often also before *rd* and a few other *r*-combinations). Thus Old English *wilde*, *findan*, *climban*, become *wiild*, *fiind*, *cliimb*, the length of whose vowels is shown by the modern forms *waiild*, *faiind*, *claiim*. Exceptions can be explained on the same principle as the other cases of the abnormal retention of original short quantity, namely, by the presence of a liquid in the second syllable; hence *hinder*, *wunder*, *timber*, not *hiinder*, etc.

Quality. *a* before *ll* is rounded into *ò*, and then, in accordance with the rule just stated, lengthened, so that the Old English *sealde* passes through *salde* into *sòlde*, and finally becomes *sòðlde*, whence the Modern *sóðld*.

The rounding of short *a* before nasals, which almost disappeared towards the end of the Old English period, at least in West-Saxon, crops up again in Middle English. An examination of the present forms gives the following rules for the occurrence of *ò=a* before nasals. Most of the cases of rounding are before *ng*, the general rule being that while verb preterites keep *a*, all other words have *ò*. Thus we have the substantive *song*, but the preterite *sang*. Exceptions are *hang* and *fang*, which should regularly be *hong*, *fong*. Rounding before *n* and *m* is exceptional: the only examples are *on*, *bond*, *from*, *wóomb*, *còðmb*.

Initial *w* influences the following vowel in various ways. Sometimes it assimilates *i* into *u*, which then absorbs the *w* itself, as in *such*=*swich*=O.E. *swilc*. Occasionally it draws up *ò* to the *ó*-position, as in *twó* for *twò*, *wóomb* for *wòðmb*, contrasting with the regular *wòð*, *wòðd* (O.E. *wā*, *wād*). Hence, by the regular changes, the Modern *twuu*, *tuu*, *wuum(b)*, *wó*, *wóð*.

We may now sum up briefly the changes of the Middle period.

a is preserved, except before *ll*, where it is rounded, and *æ* and *ea* are levelled under it.

è and *é*, together with *eo*, are levelled under *è*.

y is confounded with *i*, which remains unchanged, except that it was probably widened.

ó becomes *ò*, and *ò* is kept unchanged.

u remains, although probably widened.

a, *è*, and *ò* are often lengthened, giving *aa*, *èè* and *òò*. It will be observed that the Old English *é* and *ó* are not lengthened into *éé* and *óó*, but pass through *è* and *ò* into *èè* and *òò*.

Of the long vowels *ā*, *ē*, *ī*, *ō*, *ū* remain unchanged.

ȳ becomes *ii*.

ā becomes *òò*.

Of the diphthongs *eā* becomes *èè*, *eō* becomes *éé*.

New diphthongs are developed by the weakening of *g* and *w*.

Unaccented vowels are levelled under *a*.

Short vowels are often lengthened before liquids followed by voice stops.

MODERN PERIOD.

LOSS OF FINAL *E*.

The loss of final *e* in English is one of the many instances of how the whole grammatical structure of a language may be subverted by purely phonetic changes, for it may safely be said that the loss of final *e* in Modern English is almost equivalent to loss of inflexion altogether. Middle English, although much reduced, was still distinctly an inflexional language, as much so at least as Modern Danish or Swedish: its verbs had infinitive and plural endings, and its adjectives still retained some of their old inflexions, including the peculiarly Teutonic distinction of definite and indefinite. In Modern English all this is lost: not only is the distinction of definite and indefinite lost, but our adjectives have become absolutely indeclinable, and the whole spirit of English is now so different from that of the other Teutonic languages, that their most familiar distinctions are quite strange to us, and can only be acquired with considerable difficulty.

The loss of final *e* marks off English sharply and distinctly from the cognate languages, in all of which it is strictly preserved. Those who have such difficulty in admitting, even after the clearest evidence, that Chaucer may possibly have pronounced the final *e*, should try to realize to themselves the fact that the loss of final *e* is really quite an exceptional and anomalous phenomenon: instead of being surprised at Chaucer still retaining it, they should rather be surprised at its loss at so early a period as the fifteenth century, while preserved to the present day in all the cognate languages.

An important result of the loss of final *e* was to prevent change in other directions: we shall find that the Middle English sounds were preserved almost unchanged long after its disappearance. Mr. Ellis's researches have shown that the most characteristic features of Middle English, as, for instance, *ii* and *uu*, were preserved some way into the sixteenth century; others, such as the old *ai* and *au*, still later.

But the tendency to change soon begins to manifest itself, and by the beginning of the seventeenth century we find many important changes either completed, or else in partial operation. During the latter half of the seventeenth century the whole phonetic structure of the language may be said to have been revolutionized. Some slight further changes took place during the first half of the eighteenth century, and by the middle of the century the language finally settled down into nearly its present state. We may, therefore, distinguish roughly five periods of Modern English.

1) the *Earliest* (1450-1500 or rather later), which preserves the sounds of the Middle period unchanged, except that it throws off the final *e*. I propose, therefore, for the sake of convenience, to cite the Middle English forms in this Earliest Modern English, which is really equivalent to Latest Middle English.

2) the *Early* (1550-1650), in which the Middle sounds were distinctly modified, *ii* and *uu* being diphthongized, and *ée* and *óó* moved up to the high positions of *ii* and *uu*, *èè* and *òò* being moved into the vacant mid positions.

3) the *Transition* period (1650-1700), characterized by very important and sweeping changes, such as the simplification of the Middle diphthongs *ai* and *au*, the fronting of *a* and *aa* into *æ*, *ææ*, and the development of the peculiarly English *ə* from *u*.

4) the *Late* period (1700 onwards), in which the long vowels of the Transition period undergo a process of lingual narrowing, *ææ* passing through *èè* into *ée*, while *ée* itself becomes *ii*.

5) the *Latest* period, remarkable for its excessive tendency

to diphthongization, especially in the case of *ée* and *óó*, which are in the present generation almost always *éi* and *óu*.

It is probable that many of the distinctive features of this period existed already in the previous period, either as individual peculiarities or as vulgarisms. It is certain that in the present generation many new pronunciations, which are really very widely distributed, are entirely ignored, or else denounced as vulgarisms, even by the people who employ them habitually. These unrecognized pronunciations are of two kinds, 1) those which, though ignored by every one, are in universal use, and 2) those which appear only sporadically in educated speech, although many of them are firmly established in the language of the populace. As these pronunciations are of great philological importance, as showing us the changes of sound in active operation, and as they have been hitherto quite ignored by phoneticians, I propose to treat of them hereafter as fully as my imperfect observations will allow.

EARLY MODERN PERIOD.

a, aa. Mr. Ellis's authorities seem to describe a very thin sound of the *a*, although the *æ* of the following period does not seem to have been recognized. I think it very probable that the real sound was that of the present Danish *a* in *mand*, *mane*, which is the mid-back-wide-forward, the tongue being advanced considerably, while the tip is kept down. When the tongue is in this position, a very slight raising of the middle of it towards the palate converts this forward *a* into *æ*, which it closely resembles in sound.

e, i, o. As these vowels are retained unchanged in the present English, any discussion of their pronunciation in the Early Modern period is superfluous.

u. That *u* still retained its original sound is clear from the statements of the phonetic authorities. Salesbury writes it with his Welsh *w*, as in *bwck*=*buck*.

y. It is interesting to observe that there are distinct traces of the old short *y* in the Early Modern period. Clear evidence is afforded by a passage of Salesbury, which I think

Mr. Ellis has misunderstood. Salesbury says (E. E. P. pp. 111, 164) that “Welsh *u* soundeth as the vulgar English people sound it in these words of English, *trust*, *bury*, *busy*, *Huberden*.” Mr. Ellis thinks that Salesbury means nothing but the wide as opposed to the narrow *i*. It seems improbable that so minute a distinction should have been noticed by Salesbury—still more that, even if he had noticed it, he should have gone out of his way to describe it. Nor do I agree with Mr. Ellis in considering the distinction between the Welsh *u* and the wide *i* as being very slight. My own observations of the Welsh *u*, as pronounced in North Wales, fully confirm Mr. Bell’s identification of it with the high-mixed-wide vowel (although it seems to be narrow when long), which Mr. Ellis also adopts, but the sound seems to me to be as distinct from *i* as the unaccented German *e* (the mid-mixed-narrow) is from *é* (the mid-front), and to be much more like *y* than *i* (p. 16). I think Mr. Ellis has been led astray by Mr. Bell’s identification of the unaccented *e* in *fishes*, etc., with this high-mixed vowel, which I believe to be erroneous. Mr. Bell acutely observed that the *e* in *fishes* was not identical with the preceding *i*, and being unable to find a place for it among his front vowels, fell back on the mixed. I find, however, that the real distinction is that the unaccented vowel is the high-front-wide lowered half-way to the mid position, a sound which Dr. Murray recognizes in Scotch, and writes (*é*).¹

That the Welsh *u* sounded to Salesbury himself very like *y* is clear from his express statement that the French *u*, the German *ü*, and the Scotch *u*, closely resembled his own *u* (E. E. P. p. 761). If, now, we examine the four English words given by Salesbury, we shall find that the history of all of them points decisively to the *y*-sound. *Bury* and *busy* are in Old English *bebyrgan* and *bysig*, *trust* is the Norse *treysta*, a diphthong which could not well contract into any vowel but *y*, and the first half of *Huberden* is probably the French *Hubert*, which, of course, had the *y*-sound. What

¹ Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland, p. 106.

Salesbury's statement amounts to is, therefore, that these three words (for we may pass over the last) were in the sixteenth century pronounced by the vulgar *tryst*, *byri*, *byzi*.

Although Salesbury characterizes these pronunciations as vulgar, it is quite clear, from the retention of the French spelling *u=y* in all of them up to the present day, that the old pronunciation must have been kept up some way into the Modern period. Whenever we find a word written with *y* in Old English, and with *u* in the present spelling, we may suppose it preserved the *y*-sound in the beginning, at least, of the Modern period. Such words are :

burden (bœdru)...	O.E. byrðen.....	M.E. burþen, birþen, berþen
bury (beri)	bebyrgan	burien, birien, berien
busy (bizi).....	bysig	busi, bisi, besi
church (chæcch).....	cyrice (early O.E. cirice)...	churche, chirche, cherche
much (mæcch).....	mycel (early O.E. micel)...	muchel(l), michel, mechel, moche
shut (shæt)	seyttan	schutten, schitten, schetten

There are besides two interesting words in which the *y*-sound is expressed by the digraph *ui*, which are :

build (bild).....	O.E. byldan	M.E. build, buld, bild, beld
guilt (gilt)	gylt	gult, gilt, gelt

The correspondence between the Old, Modern, and Middle forms, the latter (which are taken from Stratmann's Dictionary), with their constant alternation between *u* and *i*, requires little comment. It is quite clear that the ambiguous *u* and *i* were considered unsatisfactory representations of the *y*-sound, and recourse was therefore had to the digraph *ui*, which, as we see, was employed both in the Middle and Modern periods. The forms in *e* point to a previous lowering of the *y* to one of the *æ*-positions. The *o* of *moche* seems to show that there was a spoken, and not merely written form *muchel* in the Middle period, with an anomalous change of *y* into *u*.

These words evidently caused considerable embarrassment to the phonetic writers of the Early Modern period, for they had no proper sign for short *y*, and were compelled to identify it with the long French *yy* in *myyz* (written *muse*), or else, if they wished to preserve its quantity, to confound it with short *i*. I will now give the sixteenth century pro-

nunciations of these words, as deduced by Mr. Ellis. I have not made any alteration in his spelling, except in the case of Salesbury's *u*, which I have written *y*, as there seems to me to be no doubt that this was the sound intended by him. I have not thought it necessary to add the authorities, except in the case of Salesbury.

burden : *u*.

bury : *y* (Sa.).

busy : *y* (Sa.).

church : *y* (Sa.), *yy*, *i*, *u*.

much : *i*, *u*? *y*?

shut : *i*.

build : *yy*, *ii*, *i*, *ei* (=Middle E. *ii*).

guilt : *i*.

The long *yy* in *chyyrch* is probably a mere inaccuracy of Smith's, for Salesbury writes distinctly *tsurts*, not *tsuwerts*, as he would have done had the vowel been long. The *yy* of *byyld* may, on the other hand, be correct, for *y* may very well have been lengthened before *ld*, as *i* is (*wiild*=O.E. *wilde*).

The *us* in these words (except perhaps in *much*) I am inclined to regard as mere pedantry—the attempt to conform the pronunciation to the spelling, of which we have numerous instances in that very pedantic age. Of this artificial *u* for *y* the foreign word *jüst* is a striking example. This word was certainly never pronounced with *u* in the Middle period, and even at the present day the legitimate descendant of the old *jyst* is still to be heard from all uneducated and many educated speakers in the form of *jüst*. Yet we find the artificial *u*-pronunciation already insisted on in the sixteenth century.

ii, *uu*. Although long *ii* and *uu* were still preserved at the beginning of the Early Modern period, they soon began to be diphthongized. Salesbury writes *ei* and *ow*, as in *wein* (= *wiin*), *ddow* (= *ðuu*), probably meaning *éi*, *óu*. There seem also to be indications of a broader pronunciation, *øi*, *øu*, which, as we shall see, became general in the following period. It is, then, clear that *ii* and *uu* were first modified by partial lowering, *i-i*, *u-u*, becoming *é-i*, *ó-u*, and that the

resulting diphthongs were then exaggerated by divergence—a not unfrequent phenomenon.

èè, éé, òò, óó. The history of these vowels in Modern English affords a striking example of the Teutonic tendency to narrow long vowels, each of them being raised a step, so that *éé* and *óó* become *ii* and *uu*, as in *diid*=Middle E. *dééd* and *suun*=*sóón*, while *èè* and *òò* become *éé, óó*, as in *dréém*=Middle E. *drèem* and *bóón*=*bòòn* (O.E. *bān*).

In one word, the Middle E. *òò* has been preserved up to the present day, and, we may therefore assume, in the Early Modern period also, namely, in the adj. *bròòd*=O.E. *brād*.

ai, au, eu, òòu, óóu. The Middle English diphthongs are generally preserved, although there are traces of the simplification of *ai* and *au*, which was fully carried out in the following period. *eu* was also simplified into *yy* in some words, such as *tryy, nyy*, while in others, such as *heu, sheu*, it was preserved. *óóu* did not, as might be expected, become *uu*, but its first element was kept unchanged, so that *blóóu* (=O.E. *blōwan*) has remained unchanged up to the present day. *òòu* seems to have changed regularly into *óóu, cnòòu* (=O.E. *cnāwan*) becoming *cnóóu*: the two *oous* were therefore levelled.

QUANTITY.

Middle English *èè* seems to have been shortened very early in the Modern period in some words which still preserve in writing the *ea*=Middle E. *èè*. Such words are *dèf, instèd, hèd, rèd* (partic.), *lèd* (subst.), *dèd, brèd*, and several others. Nearly all the cases, it will be observed, occur before *d*. We shall find the same tendency to shorten before a stopped consonant in the Late Modern period as well.

CONSONANT INFLUENCE.

The most important case is the development of *u* before *l* in the combinations *al* and *óól* (=Middle E. *òò*), *al, talk, óóld*, becoming *aul, taulk, óóuld*. The form *aul* is the origin of our present *òòl, tòòk*.

The only traces of *r*-influence, so marked in the present period, are shown in the occasional conversion of *e* into *a*, as in *hart*, *smart*, for the older *hert*, *smert*.

TRANSITION PERIOD.

We now come to the most important and difficult period of Modern English, in which the vowels of the language may be said to have broken away entirely from the Middle English traditions, and entered on a new life of their own. It is therefore fortunate that the phonetic authorities of this period are of a far higher stamp than those of the preceding one: many of their observations are extremely acute, and are evidently the result of careful study of the actions of the vocal organs.

SHORT VOWELS.

e, *i*, *o*, remain unchanged, as in the previous period. It is interesting to observe that we now, for the first time, find the qualitative distinction between short and long *i* and *u* recognized by one of Mr. Ellis's authorities. The following is Cooper's list of exact pairs of long and short vowel-sounds (E. E. P. p. 83).

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
can	ken	will	folly	full	up	meet	foot
cast	cane	weal	fall	foale	—	need	fool

which Mr. Ellis interprets thus (denoting the wide vowel by italics):

cæn	kèn	wīl	fòli	fùl	əp	mit	fut
cææst	kèèn	wéél	fòòl	fóóf	—	niid	fuul

It is clear that, as Mr. Ellis remarks, Cooper was dissatisfied with the usual pairing of *i*, *ii*, and *u*, *uu* (*fil*, *fiil*), and therefore tried to find the true short-narrow *i* and *u* in *miit* and *fuut*, where the *ii* and *uu* were probably shortened before the voiceless *t*, as is still the case. Again, he lengthened the short wide *i* and *u*, and finding that the resulting long vowel was nearly identical with the mid-narrow *éé* and *óó*, naturally identified them as the true longs and shorts. It

must be observed that the *u* of *fuut* has not only been shortened to *fut* in the present English, but has also had time to follow the usual tendencies of short vowels, and become wide. The shortening is, therefore, in all probability, of some antiquity. If, then, we suppose that the long *uu* of *fuut* had been shortened to *u* in Cooper's time, and had not yet been widened, we see that the pairing of *fut* and *fuul* may very well have been perfectly accurate, both as regards quality and quantity.

In the pairs *folly*, *fall*, Mr. Ellis makes the short *o* of *folly* to correspond exactly with the long *òò*, and assumes it to be narrow. This, I think, is unnecessary. It is clear that Cooper's analysis is not absolutely accurate; it is only a considerable step in advance. He may very well have considered the distinction between *òò* and *óó* quite minute enough, and may therefore have disregarded the further refinement of distinguishing narrow and wide *ò*.

a. The present *æ*-sound is clearly recognized by the seventeenth-century phoneticians. Wallis describes *a* (both long and short) as a palatal, as opposed to a guttural vowel—as being formed by compressing the air between the middle of the tongue and the palate with a wide opening. And the Frenchman Miegé identifies the English short *æ* with the French *e ouvert*, which would certainly be the nearest equivalent.

u. The change of the old *u* into *ø* was fully established in the Transition period, and it is clear from the descriptions given of the sound that it closely resembled the present one: Wallis calls it an obscure sound, and compares it with the French *eu* in *serviteur*, while Miegé compares it with the French *o*—a common error of foreigners at the present day, and both Wallis and Wilkins identify it with one of the pronunciations of Welsh *y*, which is generally identified with our *ø*.

Before going any further, it will be necessary to consider the present pronunciation, or rather pronunciations, of the *ø* more closely. There are two distinct sounds of the *ø*—the high-back-wide and the mid-back-narrow, which, although

formed so differently, are so similar in sound that even a practised ear finds it often difficult to distinguish them. Besides these two, a third sound may be heard in many English and Scotch dialects, which is the low-back-narrow.

Different as these three vowels are, they all agree in being unrounded back vowels, and it is clear from the seventeenth century statements that the main distinction between *u* and *ə* was then, as it is now, that *u* was rounded, *ə* not. Now it is quite certain that *u* itself was, in the seventeenth century, the high-back-wide-round (which it still is in those words, such as *wulf*, in which the *u* has been exceptionally retained); unrounded, this vowel would naturally become the high-back-wide—the very sound still in common use. The probability that this was also the seventeenth-century sound is raised almost to a certainty by the statement of Wallis, that the sound is formed with the greatest of the three degrees of closeness of the lingual passage (between tongue and palate) recognized by him. Wilkins's statement that the sound is "framed by a free emission of the breath from the throat," and, again, that it is formed "without any particular motion of the tongue or lips," may be considered as evidence that some such sound as the present mid-back-narrow was also given to the *ə*, but it is quite as probable that the whole description is inaccurate.

The general conclusion I arrive at is, that *u* was first unrounded, and that the resulting high-back-wide was in some pronunciations imitated by the mid-back-narrow, which in some dialects was, in accordance with the tendencies of short vowels, brought down to the low position.

LONG VOWELS.

ée, óó. The close *ée* and *óó* = Middle English *èè* and *òò*, are distinctly recognized. Wallis states that "*e* profertur sono acuto claroque ut Gallorum *é* masculinum," and Cooper, as we have seen (p. 522), pairs *full* and *foal* as long and short, which he could not have done if the *oa* of *foal* still had the broad *òò*-sound.

éi, óu. The diphthongization of Middle English *ii* and *uu* is carried a step further than in the previous period; all the authorities agree in either identifying, or, at least, comparing the first element of the two diphthongs with the *o* of *bot*. *wiin* and *ðuu* appear, therefore, in the Transition period as *wain* and *ðau*—very nearly their present form.

ai, au. An important change of this period, although partially developed, as Mr. Ellis has shown, much earlier, is the simplification of the old diphthongs *ai* and *au* into *ee*- and *oo*-vowels. Those writers of the Early period who acknowledge the simple sounds do not give any clue to their precise nature, but the seventeenth century accounts point clearly to *èè* and *òò*, which latter is the sound still preserved in such words as *lòò*, *hòòk*=*lau*, *hauk*, although *èè*, as in *dèè*=*dai*, has been moved up to *éé*, probably because the Early Modern *éé* has become *ii* in the present English.

The above changes were either already in operation in the Early Modern period, or were at least prepared by previous changes: the next two are peculiar to the Middle period.

aa. Long, like short, *aa* was changed to the front vowel *æ*, *naam* becoming *naæm*. The *æ*, being a long vowel, was soon narrowed into *èè*, as is shown by Cooper's pairing *ken* (= *kèn*) and *cane* (= *kèèn*) as long and short.

yy. Long *yy*, both in English words such as *nyy*, and French such as *tyyn*, was diphthongized into *iu*, *nyy* and *tyyn* becoming *niu* and *tiun*. The older *yy* was, however, still preserved by some speakers, and we have the curious spectacle of the two contemporaries Wallis and Wilkins ignoring each other's pronunciations, Wilkins asserting that the sound of *yy* is "of laborious and difficult pronunciation," especially "to the English," while Wallis considered this very *yy*-sound to be the only English pronunciation of long *u*.

It was probably the influence of this new *iu* that changed the older *eu* into *iu*, *heu*, etc., becoming *hiu*, whence by consonantization of the first element of the diphthong the present *hyuu*.

IV.

HISTORICAL VIEW OF ENGLISH SOUND-CHANGES.

OLD ENGLISH.	MIDDLE ENGLISH.	MODERN ENGLISH.
1 mann	man	mæn
sæt (=sat)	sat	sæt
heard (=hard)	hard	haəd
nama	naam	néim
5 ende (=andi)	ènd	ènd
hélpan (=hilpan)	hèlp	hèlp
seofon	seven	sevən
mète (=mati)	mèèt	miit
stélan (=stilan)	stèel	stiil
10 sē (=saiw)	sèè	sii
dæd (=dād)	déed	diid
dræm (=draum)	drèem	driim
grēne	gréén	griin
seō	sée	sii
15 witan	wit	wit
hyll	hil	hil
wīn	wiin	wain
fȳr	fiir	fair
óft (=ufta)	òft	òft
20 òn (=an)	òn	òn
hól	hòol	hóul
tā	tòò	tóó
tō	tóó	tuu
sunu	sun	sən
25 hūs	huus	haus
dæg	dai	déi
sægan	sei, sai	séi
lagu	lau	lòò

LATE MODERN PERIOD.

The further changes of the eighteenth century are comparatively slight. The short vowels remain unchanged.

The only long vowels which undergo any modification are the *ees*. In the first place the *ées* of the preceding period are raised to *ii*, *dréem* becoming *driim*, the result being that the Middle English *èè* and *éé* are both confused under *ii*. The word *gréét*=M.E. *grèèt* (O.E. *greāt*) is an example of exceptional retention of the older *éé*.

èè from *aa* and *ai* is raised to the mid-position of *éé*, left

vacant by the change of *ée* into *ii*, *nèem* from *naam* and *sèè* from *sai* becoming *néem* and *sée*.

òò and *óó* are, on the other hand, retained unaltered. We see, therefore, that the fully-established pronunciation of the eighteenth century differed but slightly from that now in use.

QUANTITY.

The Early Modern *uu* from *óó* is often shortened before stops, almost always before *k*, frequently before other stops, and occasionally before other consonants. Examples are: *luk* (=Middle E. *lóók*), *tuk* (*tóók*), *buk* (*bóók*), *stud* (*stóód*), *gud* (*góód*), *fut* (*fóót*), *huf* (*hóóf*), *buzom* (*bóózom*).

Other cases of shortening are doubtful, as they probably took place in the Early period: even the changes just considered may have been, at least partially, developed in the Transition period.

The lengthening of vowels before certain consonants will be considered in the next section.

CONSONANT INFLUENCE.

Some important modifications are produced in this period by consonant influence, which has, in some cases, also had a conservative effect in preserving older sounds, which would otherwise have undergone various modifications.

The most marked influence is that exercised by the *r*. So strong is it, indeed, that in the present English hardly any vowel has the same sound before *r* as before other consonants. One important result of this is that the *r* itself becomes a superfluous addition, which is not required for distinguishing one word from another, and is therefore weakened into a mere vocal murmur, or else dropped altogether, although always retained before a vowel.

The following table will give a general view of these modifications. The first column gives the Middle English vowels, the second gives what would be their regular representatives in Late Modern English, the third gives the forms

they actually assume, and the last column gives examples with the Middle E. forms in parentheses :

ar	ær	aar	haæd (hard)
ir	ir	ær	þæd (þird)
èr	èr	æar	swæv (swerv)
ur	ær	æar	tæf (turf)
òr	òr	òòr	nòðə (norþ)
aar	éér	èèr	fèèr (faar)
air	éér	èèr	fèèr (fair)
éér	iir	iær (èèr)	diær, ðèèr (déér, ðéér)
èèr	iir	iær (èèr)	iær, bèèr (èèr, bèèr)
óór	uur	uuær, òòr	muuær, flòòr (móór, flóór)
òòr	óór	òòr	mòòr (mòòr)
iir	air	aiær	faier (fiir)
uur	aur	auær	sauær (suur)

The sympathy between *r* and the broad (low or back) vowels, which is also shown in the older change of *ster*, etc., into *star*, is evident enough here also. In such words as *fèèr* the seventeenth-century sound of long *aa* has been preserved almost unchanged, while in *flòòr* the *r* has not only prevented the regular change into *uu*, but has even lowered the vowel from the *óó-* to the *òò-*position.

In many cases it is doubtful whether the influence of the *r* has been simply conservative, or whether the change—say of *hard* into *hard*—actually took place, and that the influence of the *r* afterwards changed the *æ* into *a*. The change of *a* into *æ* certainly seems to have been fully carried out in the Transition period before *r* as well as the other consonants, if we may trust the phonetic authorities; but it is quite possible that the older *as* may have remained throughout as vulgarisms, and soon have regained their lost ground.

The levelling of *ir*, *er*, and *ur*, which are kept quite distinct by the phoneticians of the Transition period, is a very curious phenomenon, as it has resulted in an entirely new vowel, which only occurs in these combinations. This vowel is the low-mixed-narrow. It is evidently closely allied to the regular short *ə* in *bæt*, and it seems most probable that the first change was to level *ir*, *er*, and *ær* under *ær* (mid-back-narrow), which would then, by the further influence of the *r*, pass into the low-back-narrow, whence to the low-

mixed-narrow is but a short step. Then the vowel was lengthened, and the *r* absorbed.

The influence of *l* is, like that of *r*, in the direction of broadening. In the combinations *alf* and *alm* original short *a* is preserved, the *l* is dropped and the vowel lengthened, so that *half* and *salm* (written *psalm*) become *haaf* and *saam*. In the Early period some of these words developed the usual *au*, but the present forms cannot have arisen from *au*, except, perhaps, *haam* from *halm*, which is often pronounced *hòòm*, pointing clearly to an older *haulm*.

Besides *r* and *l*, there are other consonants which tend to preserve the quality of short *a*, namely, *ʒ*, *þ*, *s* and *f*, although the *a* is generally lengthened: *faaʒər*, *paap*, *graas*, *aask*, *laaf*, *craaft*. The refined Transition pronunciation *pæþ*, *æsk*, is, however, still to be heard.

Before leaving this subject of consonant influence, it is necessary to observe that the rules just stated do not always apply to dissyllables, but only to monosyllables. Thus we find *sælou*, *fielou*, not *sòlou*, *fòlou*, *nærou* not *narou*, and *gæʒər* contrasting with *faaʒər* and *raaʒər*.

The influence of initial *w* is also very characteristic of Late Modern English. It not only preserves the old *u*, as in *wul*, *wulf*, but also regularly rounds short *a* into *ò*, *what*, *swan*, becoming *whòt*, *swòn*; also in dissyllables, such as *swòlou*, *wòlou*. The Transition forms *wəl*, *wəlf*, *whæt*, were probably artificial refinements, which were never accepted by the mass of the people.¹

LATEST MODERN PERIOD.

We are now, at last, able to study the sounds of our language, not through the hazy medium of vague descriptions and comparisons, but by direct observation; we can throw away theory, and trust to facts. If our analysis of speech-

¹ Mr. H. Nicol has just called my attention to the fact (which I had overlooked) that the change does not take place when the *a* is followed by a back consonant: *wæg*, *wæx*, etc.

sounds were perfectly accurate and exhaustive, and if our ears were trained to recognize with certainty every appreciable shade of pronunciation, the task would be easy enough. As it is, its difficulties are very great, and the observations I am about to make cannot therefore make any pretensions either to complete fullness or perfect accuracy. They are mere first attempts, and will require much revision.

DIPHTHONGIZATION.

The most prominent feature of our present English is its tendency to diphthongization.

The diphthongic character of our *ée* and *óó* has been distinctly recognized by our leading phoneticians, especially Smart and Bell.

Mr. Bell analyses the two diphthongs as *éi*, *óu*, but I find, as regards my own pronunciation, that the second elements are not fully developed *i* and *u*. In pronouncing *óu* the tongue remains throughout in the mid-position, and the second element only differs from the first in being formed with greater closure of the lips, so that it is an intermediate sound between *oo* and *uu*. In *éi* the tongue seems to be raised to a position half way between *é* and *i* in forming the second element, not to the full high position of *i*.

This indistinctness of the second elements of our *éi* and *óu* explains the difficulty many have in recognizing their diphthongic character. Mr. Ellis, in particular, insists strongly on the monophthongic character of his own *ees* and *oos*. I hear his *ee* and *oo* as distinct diphthongs, not only in his English pronunciation, but also in his pronunciation of French, German, and Latin.

The observation of existing pronunciations has further revealed a very curious and hitherto unsuspected fact, namely that our *ii* and *uu* are no longer pure monophthongs in the mouths of the vast majority of speakers, whether educated or uneducated. They are consonantal diphthongs, *ii* terminating in the consonant *y*, *uu* in *w=iy*, *uw*. The distinction

between *bit* and *biit* (written *beat*) depends not on the short vowel being wide and the long narrow, but on the former being a monophthong, the latter a diphthong. The narrowness of *ii* (or rather *iy*) is therefore unessential, and we find, accordingly, that the first element of both *iy* and *uw* is generally made wide. These curious developments are probably the result of sympathetic imitation of *éi* and *óu*; and the tongue being already in the highest vowel position the only means of further contraction of the lingual passage left was the formation of consonants.

The only long vowels left are *aa* and *òò*. Are these genuine monophthongs? I believe not, although their diphthongic character is certainly not nearly so strongly marked as in the case of the vowels already considered. Nevertheless, these two vowels always seem to end in a slight vocal murmur, which might be expressed thus—*aaə*, *òòə*. I find that *aa* and *òò*, if prolonged ever so much, still have an abrupt unfinished character if this vocal murmur is omitted. The difference between *lòò* (written *law*) and *lòòə* (*lore*) is that in the former word the final *ə* is strictly diphthongic and half evanescent, while the *ə* of the second word is so clearly pronounced as almost to amount to a separate syllable. The distinction between the words written *father* and *farther* is purely imaginary.

In popular speech these diphthongs undergo many modifications. The first elements of *éi* and *óu* often follow the general tendencies of short vowels, and are lowered to the low-front-narrow and low-back-wide-round positions respectively, giving *èi* and *òu*. This peculiar exaggeration of the two diphthongs, which is not uncommon even among the educated, is popularly supposed to be a substitution of *ai* for *éi*, and those who employ it are reproached with saying “high” instead of “hay.” I find, however, that those who say *hèi* for *héi* never confuse it with *hai*, which many of them pronounce very broadly, giving the *a* the low-back sound of the Scotch *man*.

The *ó* of *óu* is often, especially in affected pronunciation, moved forward to the mid-mixed-round position, and from

there, by lowering and further shifting forwards, to the low-front-narrow-round position, so that *nóu* becomes *nœu*.

In like manner, the *u* of *uw=uu* is often weakened into the high-mixed-round (wide), which is nearly the German *ü*. So that *tuu* becomes almost *tyw* or *tüw*.

The two diphthongs corresponding to Middle E. *iï* and *uu* show strongly divergent tendencies in the present pronunciation. The first element of our *ai* is, I believe, the high-back-wide (which is also the commonest sound of the *ə* in *bət*), that of *au* the low-mixed-wide. In vulgar speech the distinction is still more marked, the *a* of *ai* being gradually lowered to the full low position, whilst the *a* of *au* is moved forward to the low-front-wide position, giving the familiar *æus* for *haus*. These exaggerations may be partly attributable to the desire to prevent confusion with the *èi* and *òu* arising from *éé* and *óó*.

The investigation of these peculiarities is not only of high scientific interest, but is also of great practical importance. We see that the imagined uniformity of "correct" pronunciation is entirely delusive—an error which only requires a little cultivation of the observing faculties to be completely dissipated.

It is also certain that the wretched way in which English people speak foreign languages—often in such a style as to be quite unintelligible to the natives—is mainly due to their persistently ignoring the phonetic peculiarities of their own language. When we once know that our supposed long vowels are all diphthongs, we are forced to acknowledge that the genuine *iis* and *uus* of foreign languages are really strange sounds, which require to be learnt with an effort, in the same way as we acquire French *u* or German *ch*. A case once came under my notice, in which the French word written *été* was confidently given forth as *èitèi*, on the strength of the grammar's assertion that the French *e aigu* had the sound of the English *ay* in *hay*. The result was, of course, to produce a word utterly unintelligible to a Frenchman.

SHORT VOWELS.

The short vowels do not seem to have changed much in the last few generations. The most noticeable fact is the loss of *æ* among the vulgar. It is modified by raising the tongue into the mid-front-wide, resulting in the familiar *ceb* for *cæb*. This anomalous raising of a short vowel is gradually spreading among the upper classes, and is already quite fixed in many colloquial phrases, such as *nóu thenc yuw*, in which *thænc* is hardly ever pronounced with *æ*, as it should be theoretically. To keep the old original *e* distinct from this new sound, the original *e* generally has the broad sound of the low-front-narrow—a pronunciation which is very marked among the lower orders in London. In the pronunciation of those who retain *æ*, original *e* often has the thinner mid-front-wide sound.

QUANTITY.

The laws of quantity in the Latest Modern English, which are of a very peculiar and interesting character, were, as far as I know, never stated till I gave a brief account of them in the paper on Danish Pronunciation, already mentioned.

The distinction between long and short vowel is preserved strictly only in dissyllables. In monosyllables short vowels before single consonants are very generally lengthened, especially among the uneducated. If the vowel is kept short, the consonant must be lengthened. The result is, that short accented monosyllables do not exist in English. Either the vowel or the consonant must be long. If the vowel is naturally long, the consonant is shortened; if the vowel is originally short, the consonant is lengthened; or else the vowel is lengthened, and the consonant shortened. We thus obtain the forms *téil*, *tèll*, or *tèèl*, of which the last two are entirely optional. Although these quantitative distinctions are most clearly observable in the liquids, they apply quite as fully to the stops, as may be seen by any one who com-

pare the English *hædd* and *hætt* with the Danish *hat*, in which the *t* is really short, giving a peculiarly abrupt effect to English ears.

Among the educated the form *tèll* is more frequent, but among the vulgar the lengthened *tèèl* is very common. These popular pronunciations are very interesting, as affording the only true undiphthongic long vowels which English now possesses: *fil* and *fill* in popular speech are really *fiyl* and *fiil* with the same wide vowel, the only difference being that in the latter word it is perfectly homogeneous, while in the former it is consonantly diphthongized.

It also deserves notice that there are really three degrees of vowel quantity in English—short, medial, and long, the rule being that long vowels occur only before voice consonants or finally, while before breath consonants they become medial. Compare *luuz* with *luus*, *paaðz* with *paaþ*. This fact has been noticed by Dr. Murray, in his work on the Scotch Dialects (p. 98, note).

A similar distinction is observable in the quantity of some of the consonants themselves. Liquids and nasals are long before voice, short before breath consonants. Compare *billd* with *bilt*, *sinnz* with *sins*. This distinction of quantity has led Mr. Bell to assume that the *l* in *bilt* is voiceless, although he admits (Visible Speech, p. 67) that “there is a trace of vocality.” That the *l* in the English *bilt* is *not* voiceless becomes at once evident on comparing it with the Icelandic *lt*, which is really *lht*, with a distinct hiss.

CONSONANT INFLUENCE.

Apart from the laws of quantity already discussed, there is little to say on this subject. There are, however, words whose present forms afford instructive examples of the influence of *l*. These words are *children* and *milk*, in both of which the *i* has been gutturalized and labialized into *u* by the *l*, which in the second word has further developed into the diphthong *yu*, giving *chuldræn* and *myule*. The diphthong in *myule* is somewhat puzzling. It is not im-

possible that the older forms were *chyyldrən* and *myyle*, which were then diphthongized into *yu*, which in the former word lost its *y*-consonant; or *chyldrən* may have developed direct into *chuldrən*.

NOTES ON THE CONSONANTS.¹

H.

That initial *h* in Old English had the same sound as it has now, and not that of the German *ch* (*kh*), which it is generally agreed to have had when medial and final, is clear from its frequent omission, even in the older documents of the language; for if initial *h* had been really *kh*, there would be no more reason for its omission than for that of *s* or any other initial consonant.

During the Middle period the use of *h* to designate the sound of *kh* was abandoned in favour of *gh*, whence the present spellings *night*, *laugh*, for the O.E. *niht*, *hleahhan*. The spelling *ch*, as in German, also occurs, and it is, at first sight, difficult to see why it was not universally adopted instead of *gh*, which ought to express, not the breath sound *kh*, but rather the corresponding voice (as in German *sagen*). The simplest explanation seems to be that the *ch* was discarded in order to prevent confusion with the *ch* from *c* in *child*, *much*, etc.

HR, HL, HW, HN.

There can be no doubt that in the oldest pronunciation of these combinations the *h* was pronounced separately, and that at a still earlier period the *h* was a real *ch*. In Modern Icelandic, however, which is the only Teutonic language that still preserves all these sounds, the combinations have been simplified into *rh*, *lh*, *wh*, *nh*, which are nothing else but the breath sounds corresponding to *r*, *l*, *w*, *n*, respectively. Modern English also preserves one of them in the simplified form of *wh*.

¹ These do not lay claim to any fullness of detail: they are merely intended to serve as a stop-gap till it is possible to treat the subject more at length.

The fact that *hr*, *hl*, and *hn* drop their *h* very early in the Transition period, seems to show that the change from the compound *h-r*, etc., to the simplified *rh*, must have already begun in the Old English period. That they did pass through the stage of simplification is clear from the spellings *rh*, etc., as in *rhof* (Ormulum), *lhord* (Ayenbite), and the *wh* still preserved.

The change from *hl* to *l* is not, therefore, to be explained as the result of apocope of the initial *h*, but rather as a levelling of the voiceless *lh* under the voiced *l*—a change which is at the present moment being carried out with the only remaining sound of this group, the *wh*.

þ, F.

The main difficulty here is to determine the laws which govern the distribution of the breath *þ* and *f*, and the voice *ð* and *v*. The following table gives a general view of the relations of the living languages.

<i>English</i>	... þing	... ðæt.....	brøðer	.....	óuþ
<i>Icelandic</i>	... þing	... þaað	brouðir	.....	éið
<i>Swedish</i>	... ting	... det.....	bróódar	.....	ééd
<i>Danish</i>	..... ting	... dé	bróóðar	.....	ééð
<i>Dutch</i>	..... ding	... dat.....	bruder	.....	ééd
<i>German</i>	... ding	... das.....	bruuder	.....	aid (<i>for</i> ait)

The German *ait*, which is still written *eid*, really stands for *aid*, as final stops are always voiceless or whispered in German. The same is the case in Dutch, but original voiced stops preserve their vocality, if followed by a word beginning with a vowel.

The inferences suggested by this table are clear enough.

The English final *þ* for *ð* is evidently an exceptional change, which does not appear in any of the other languages. So also is the Icelandic *þ* in *þaað*. The majority, then, of the living Teutonic languages agree in showing *ð* medially and finally and *þ* initially, except in a small group

of words in very common use, such as *the, then, thus, than, thou*.

The question now arises, what is the relation of the Dutch and German *d* in *ding* to the Scandinavian and English *ting, ping*? If the initial breath forms are the original ones, the voiced *æt*, etc., must be later modifications; if the *æ* of *æt* is the older, the *t* and *p* of *ting* and *ping* must be the later developments—in short, there must have been a period in which *p* did not exist at all.

If we go back to the Oldest English, we find no trace of any distinction between *p* and *æ*. Many of the oldest MSS. write the *æ* in all cases—*æing, ææt, broæor, æð*, while others write *p* with equal exclusiveness. When we consider that *æ* is simply the usual *d* modified by a diacritic, and that the *p* itself is, in all probability (as, I believe, was first suggested by Mr. Vigfússon), a *D* with the stem lengthened both ways, we are led to the unavoidable conclusion that the voice sound was the only one that existed in the Early Old English period. The fact that some of the very oldest remains of our language use the digraph *th* cannot outweigh the overwhelming evidence the other way. It was very natural to adopt the digraph *th*, which already existed in Latin as the representative of the sound *th*, as an approximate symbol of the voiced *dh*, but it is clear that it was considered an inaccurate representation of a voiced consonant, and was therefore abandoned in favour of *p* or *æ*, which were at first employed indiscriminately.

Afterwards, when the breath sound developed itself, the two letters were utilized to express the difference, and *p*, whose origin was of course forgotten, came to be regarded as the exclusive representative of the breath sound. Accordingly the later MSS. of the tenth and eleventh centuries always use both *p* and *æ* together, often rather loosely, but always with the evident intention of writing *p* initially, *æ* medially and finally. None of them seem to make any distinction between *ping* and *æt*, etc. It is, however, clear that these words must have had the same voice pronunciation as they have now.

We may therefore assume three stages in the history of the English *th*-sounds :

Early Old English ... ƿing..... ƿæt..... brōƿor..... āƿ

Late Old English ... þing..... ƿæt..... brōƿor..... āƿ

Modern English þing..... ƿæt..... bræðer..... óuþ

The mystery of the pronunciation of *the*, *thou*, is now solved : these words are archaisms, preserved unchanged by the frequency of their occurrence.

These results apply equally to the *f*. There can be no doubt that the *f* in Early Old English was vocal like the Welsh *f*, as is shown by the Old German spelling *uole*, etc. (still preserved, though the sound has been devocalized, in Modern German), and the Dutch pronunciation.

In the Transition period the voiced *f* was represented by the French *u*, as in Old German, and it is clear from such spellings as *vox* for *fox*, *uader* for *fader*, that the initial vocality of the Old English *f* (and consequently of the ƿ also) was still preserved, as it still is, in many of the Southern dialects.

Even in the present literary English we find initial vocality still preserved in the words *vēin* (from *fana*), *væt* and *vixen*. As, however, these words are not of very frequent occurrence, it is not improbable that they were taken directly from one of the dialects.

There are a few cases of the retention of final vocality also, both of *f* and ƿ, in the present English. The words are *ov*, *twelv*, and *wiƿ*, all three evidently preserved, like ƿæt, etc., by their excessive frequency. The pronunciations *of* and *wiþ*, given by some of the Early Modern authorities, are made doubtful by their recognition of *ov* and *wiƿ* as popular or vulgar pronunciations : they may therefore be purely artificial.

The vocal pronunciation of initial *s*, which is common in our dialects, and is shown for the fourteenth century by the Kentish *zay*, *zal*, etc., cannot be original. The sound of *z* is unknown in Scandinavia, and even in Germany the "soft" *s* is clearly the result of Low German influence, and it is unknown in the South German dialects.

It seems, therefore, that the vocalization of initial (and also medial) *s* in English is merely a case of levelling, caused by the analogy of the vocal *ʒ* and *v*.

G.

The use of *g* for the *y*-consonant (*j*) of the other languages is one of the knotty points of Old English phonetics. It is commonly assumed that the *g* of *gēr* (=Gothic *jēr*), *ge* (= *jus*), and the *ge* of *geoc* (= *juk*), *geā* (= *jā*), are merely orthographical expedients for indicating this *y*-consonant. But there seems no reason why the *i* of the other national orthographies should not have been adopted in England also. As a matter of fact, it is used in foreign names, as in *Iuþytte* (in the Chronicle), *Iuliana*, etc. And not only do such words as *geoc* alliterate with undoubted hard *gs* in the poetry, but we even find such pairs as *Juliana*, *god*, showing clearly that even in foreign words *y*-consonant was liable to be changed into a sound which, if not identical with the *g* of *god*, was at least very like it.

The *ge* of *geoc* makes it very probable that the *g*=*y*-consonant was a palatal sound—in short, a palatal stop formed in the place of *y* (=Sanskrit ञ). The conversion of an open into a stopped consonant is, of course, anomalous, but precisely the same change has taken place in the Romance languages.

The spelling *cg* for *gg*, as in *licgan*, *ecg*, is curious. We can hardly suppose that the combination is to be understood literally as *c* followed by *g*. Such a change would, at least, be entirely without precedent, and it seems most probable that the combination was meant to indicate a whispered instead of a voiced *gg*. The peculiarity, whatever it was, does not seem to have been carried into the Middle period, whose scribes always write *gg*.

Final *g* after long vowels or consonants often becomes *h* in Old English, which, to judge from the spelling *bogh*=*bōh*=*bōg*, was originally vocal (= *gh*), although it was soon devocalized. In the Transition period all medial and final *gs* became open (*gh*), as in German, Danish, and Icelandic. This *gh* after-

wards became palatalized after front, and labialized after back vowels (*ghw*), and in many cases the palatal and labial *gh* became still further weakened into *i* and *u*, forming the second elements of diphthongs. After a consonant the labial *gh* was confused with *w* (from which it differs only in being slightly more guttural), *folgian* becoming *folwen*. When the *w* came at the end of a word, it was weakened into *u*, *folw* becoming *folu*, and *malw* (O.E. *mealwe*) becoming *malu*. The present *ou* in *folóu*, for which there is sixteenth century authority, as well as for *folu*, is anomalous. It is possible that the *ou* pronunciation may be artificial—the result of the spelling *follow*.

Even initial *g* is often weakened before front vowels, so often, indeed, that the Old English form of the *g* (γ) came to be used exclusively to represent this weak sound, while the French form (nearly our present *g*) was reserved for the original stopped *g*. The first change was, no doubt into *gh*, *gifan* becoming *ghiven*, as in the Dutch *ghééven*, which soon became palatalized, till at last it became simple *y*-consonant, as is clearly proved by such spellings as *iæf*=O.E. *geaf* (Peterborough Chronicle), *yelt*=*gylt* (Ayenbite), etc.

The *g* or *ge*, which represents original *y*-consonant in Old English, always undergoes this weakening, *geoc*, *gē*, becoming *yòðe*, *yéé*. Even when initial *ge* is merely the result of the diphthongization of *a* into *ea*, it is often weakened into *ya*, as in *yard*=*geard*=*gard*.

The result of all these changes was, that by the beginning of the sixteenth century *gh* was entirely lost, being either weakened into a vowel (*i* or *u*), or converted into the corresponding breath sound *kh*, but only finally, as in *dóóuh* (O.E. *dāg*), *enuuh* (*genōg*). In most cases final *gh* (when not vowelized) was dropped entirely, as in *fóóu* (*fāg*), *lóóu* (*lāg*), *fii* (*feoh*).¹

In the present English *kh*—whether answering to O.E. *g* or *h*—has been entirely lost. It appears from Mr. Ellis's investigations that the full *kh* first became weakened to a

¹ The *u* in *dóóuh*, *fóóu(h)*, etc., was probably a mere secondary formation, generated by the *ghw*, the stages being *oogh*, *ooghw*, *ooughw*, and then *oouh* or simply *oon*.

mere aspiration, which was soon dropped. In such words as *niht* the *i* was lengthened, *niht* becoming *nīit*, whence our present *nait*. Final *kh* preceded by a rounded vowel as in *lauh*, *enuuh*, was itself naturally rounded into *khw*, like the *kh* in the German *auch*; hence the present *laaf*, *enəf*—*laukh*, *lakhw*, *lawh*, *laf*. For fuller details the reader must be referred to Mr. Ellis's great work.

CH, J.

The change of *c* into *ch* before and after front vowels, as in *chiild*, *tèech*, from *cild*, *tāēcan*, offers considerable difficulties, on account of the many intermediate stages there must have been between the back stop *c* and the present *tsh*-sound. There can be no doubt that the first change was to move *c* to the front-stop position, but, although the further change to the point formation is simple enough, it is not easy to explain the intrusion of the *sh*: we would expect *ciild* to change simply into *tiild*, just as *gemaca* becomes *maat*. I believe that the change from the intermediate front-stop to *tsh* is a purely imitative one. If the front-stop is pronounced forcibly—even with a degree of force stopping far short of actual aspiration—the escape of breath after the contact is removed naturally generates a slight hiss of *yh* (as in *hue*), which is very like *sh* in sound—hence the substitution of the easier *tsh*.

The same remarks apply also to the *dzh*-sound in *wej*, *ej*, *rij*, etc., from *wecg*, *ecg*, *hrycg*.

It is instructive to observe the analogous changes in the Scandinavian languages. In Icelandic *k* and *g* before front vowels are shifted forward a little, without, however, losing their back character, almost as in the old-fashioned London pronunciation of *kaind*, *skai*, etc. In Swedish *k* before front vowels has a sound which is generally identified with the English *ch*. If, however, my limited observations are correct, the real sound is the front stop followed by the corresponding open breath (*yh*). The sound is certainly not the English *ch*, which the Swedes consider an unfamiliar sound. In

Norwegian the stopped element is dropped entirely, and nothing remains but a forward *yh*, so that *kenna* is pronounced *yhenna*. Both in Norwegian and Swedish *g* before front vowels has the simple sound of the consonant *y*.

SH.

The change of Old English *sc* into *sh* is not exactly parallel with that of *c* into *ch*, as it takes place after back as well as front vowels—not only in such words as *ship* (= *scip*), but also in *shun* (*āscunian*), etc. It is therefore possible that *sc* may have passed through the stage of *skh*, as in Dutch, a change which seems to be the result of the influence of the *s*, the *kh* instead of *k* being, like *s*, a sibilant unstopped consonant. The Old English spellings *sceacan*, *sceoc*, etc., for *scacan*, *scōc*, however, seem to point rather to a palatalization of the *c* at an early period. Whatever the development may have been, it is certain that the sound soon became simple, for we find it often written *ss* in the Early Middle period.

In Swedish the sound of *sh* is fully developed, but only before front vowels. In Norwegian *sk* before front vowels changes its *k* into *yh* (voiceless *y*-consonant), which, as we have already seen, is the regular change, giving the combination *s-yh*, which is generally confounded with simple *sh* by foreigners. These facts tend strongly to confirm the view that the change of *sk* into *sh* in English also is due to palatalization of the *k*, although we cannot determine with certainty what the intermediate stages were.

WORD LISTS.

The following lists are intended to include the majority of the words of Teutonic—that is to say English or Scandinavian—origin still in common use, with the corresponding Old and Middle forms. The first column gives the Old English forms; the second the Middle English (but without the final *e*, p. 56) as deduced from the Old English forms and the present traditional spelling, which is given in the third column; the

fourth, lastly, gives the present sounds. I have, of course, carefully compared the valuable pronouncing vocabulary of Early Modern English given by Mr. Ellis in his Third Part, especially in all cases of irregular change or anomalous spelling. These exceptions will be considered hereafter.

The words are arranged primarily according to their vowels in the following order:—a (æ, ea, ei), ā, i, ī, y, ŷ, é (eo), è, ē, æ=ée, æ=èè, eā, eō, u, ū, o, ō. Then according to the consonant that follows the vowel in this order: h, r, l, ʃ, s, w, f, ng, n, m, g, c, d, t, b, p; and lastly according to the initial consonant in the same order. The principle I have followed is to begin with the vowels, as being the most independent elements of speech, and to put the stops at the extreme end as being most opposed to the vowels. The semivowels or open consonants naturally come after the vowels, and the nasals next to the stops. As regards position, back consonants come first, then front, then point, and then lip. Voice consonants, of course, come before breath. It will easily be seen that the same general principles have been followed in the arrangement of the vowels. The order of position is back, mixed, front; high comes before mid, and mid before low, and round last of all.

To facilitate reference, I have often given the same word under as many different heads as possible, especially in cases of irregular development.

Old English forms which do not actually occur, but are postulated by later ones, are marked with an asterisk.

The Middle English forms in parentheses are those which, although not deducible from the spelling, are supported by other evidence.

Norse words are denoted by N., and the conventional Icelandic spellings are occasionally added in parentheses.

Many of the inorganic preterites (such as *bore=bær*) have been included in the present lists: they are all marked with a dagger.

a, æ, ea, ò.

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.
hleahhan geseah	lauh sau		laaf sòò
eahta hleahtor sleaht feahht tæhte	eiht (ai) lauhter slauhter fauht tauht	<i>eight</i> 4 <i>laughter</i> <i>slaughter</i> <i>fought</i> <i>taught</i>	éit laaftər slòòtər fòòt tòòt
aron hara scearu starian sparian wær faran nearu (nearw-) caru dear tær bær (<i>adj.</i>) bær (<i>pret.</i>) {	ar haar shaar staar spaar waar faar naru caar daar † tòòr baar baar † bòòr	8 <i>are</i> <i>hare</i> <i>share</i> <i>stare</i> 12 <i>spar</i> <i>ware (wary)</i> <i>fare</i> <i>narrow</i> 16 <i>care</i> <i>dare</i> <i>tore</i> <i>bare</i> 20 <i>bare</i> <i>bore</i>	aar hèər shèər stèər spèər wèər fèər næróu cèər dèər tòər bèər bèər bòər
ears	ars	<i>arse</i>	aəs
ar(e)we spearwa gearwa	aru sparu geèr	<i>arrow</i> 24 <i>sparrow</i> <i>gear</i>	æróu spæróu giər
hærfest	harvest	<i>harvest</i>	hævest
(ge)earnian wearnian fearn gearn	èèrn warn fern yarn	<i>earn</i> 28 <i>warn</i> <i>fern</i> <i>yarn</i>	əən wòən fəən yaən
earm hearm wearm swearm	arm harm warm swarm	<i>arm</i> 32 <i>harm</i> <i>warm</i> <i>swarm</i>	aəm həəm wòəm swòəm
eare ærece-	arc arch-	<i>ark</i> 36 <i>arch(bishop)</i>	aæc aæch-

a(æ ea ei), i, é(eo), è, ē, æ, eā, eō, u, o.

a, æ, ea, ǫ (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.
lāwerce	lare		læc
steare	stare		staec
spearca	spare		spaec
meare	mare	40	maec
bare, N. (börkr)	bare		baec
pearruc	pare		pæc
heard	hard		haed
weard	ward	44	wðæd
geard	yard		yaed
beard	bèerd		biæd
(ǣū) eart	art		aæt
sweart	swart	48	swðæþi
cræt	cart		caæt
teart	tart		taæt
hearpe	harp		haep
scearp	sharp	52	shaep
alor (<i>under</i> ld)			
ealu	aal		éil
eall	al		òòl
heall	hal		hòòl
salu (sealw-)	salu	56	sælou
smæl	smal		smòòl
sceal	shal		shæl
scealu	scaal, shaal		scéil, shéil
steall	stal	60	stòòl
weall	wal		wòòl
hwæl	whaal		whéil
falū (fealw-)	falū		fælóu
feallan	fal	64	fòòl
nihtegale	nihtingaal		naitinggéil
gealle	gal		gòòl
calū (cealw-)	calū		cælóu
ceallian (N. ?)	cal	68	còòl
dæl	daal		déil
talū	taal		téil
bealu	baal		béil
swealwe	swalu	72	swolóu
wealwian	walu		wolóu
mealwe	malu		mælóu

h; r, hr, l, hl; ƿ, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

a, æ, ea, ò (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.
ælf	elf		elf
healf	half	76	haaf
sealfian	salv		sælv
cealf	calf		caaf
ælmesse	alms		aamz
healm	halm	80	hòòm
sealm	salm		saam
hālgian	halu		hælóu
gealga	galuz		gælóuz
tælg	talú	84	tælóu
stealcian	stalc		stòðc
wealcian	walc		wòðc
bealca	balc		bòðc
bealcettan	belch	88	belch
alor	alder		òòldær
eald	òòld		óuld
ealdormann	alderman		òòldæmæn
healdan	hòòld	92	hóuld
sealde	sòòld		sóuld
fealdan	fòòld		fóuld
ceald	còòld		cóuld
tealde	tòòld	96	tóuld
beald	bòòld		bóuld
healt	halt		holt
sealt	salt		solt
mealt	malt	100	molt
hæ(f)ð	haþ		hæþ
hraðor	raðer		raaðer
hwæðer	wheðer		wheðer
bæð	baþ	104	baaþ
baðian	baað		béið
pæð	paþ		paaþ
fæðm	faðom		fæðem
ea(l)swā	az	108	æz
assa	as		aas
*hæ(f)s	haz		hæz

a(æ ea ei), i, é(eo), è, ē, æ, eā, eō, u, o.

a, æ, ea, ò (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.
læssa	les		les
ƿ̆ȝ læs ƿ̆e	lest	112	lest
wæs	waz		woz
næs	nes		nes
græs	gras		graas
glæs	glas	116	glaas
bræs	bras		braas
æsc	ash		æsh
āscian	asc		aasc
ascan	ashez	120	æshez
rasc N.	rash		ræsh
wascan	wash		wosh
flasce	flasc		flaasc
baƿ̆a sic N.	base	124	baase
la(to)st	last		laast
læst (<i>superl.</i>)	lèest		liist
lāestan	last		laast
fæst	fast	128	faast
mæst	mast		maast
gæst	gest		gest
casta N.	cast		caast
castel	castl	132	caasl
blæst	blast		blaast
æsp	aspen		æspen
awel	aul		òòl
clawu	clau	136	elòò
hafa (<i>imper.</i>)	hav		hæv
behafa	behaav		behéiv
hæfen	haaven		héivæn
hafoc	hauc	140	hòòc
stæf	staf		staaf
stafas	staavz		stéivz
scafan	shaav		shéiv
nafu	naav	144	néiv
geaf	gaav		géiv
græf	graav		gréiv
grafan			
ceaf	chaf		chaaf
ceafor	chaafer	148	chéifør

h; r, hr, l, hl; ƿ̆, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

a, æ, ea, ò (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.
craſian	craav		créiv
clæfer	clòòver		clóuøvər
hæfð (<i>under ð</i>)			
hræfn	raaven		réivən
hæfde hlæfdige	} (<i>under d</i>)		
æfter	after	152	aafter
ſceaft	ſhaft		ſhaaft
cræft	craft		craaft
angel (<i>hook</i>)	angl		ængl
hangan	hang	156	hæng
hrang	rang		ræng
lang	long		long
þrang	þrong		þrong
þwang	þong	160	þong
ſang (<i>pret.</i>)	ſang		sæng
ſang (<i>subst.</i>)	song		song
ſtrang	strong		strong
ſprang	ſprang	164	ſpræng
wrang (<i>pret.</i>)	wrang		ræng
wrang (<i>adj.</i>)	wrong		rong
fang	fang	167	fæng
mangere	? monger (u)		mængər
òn gemang	? among (u)		ømæng
gang	gang		gæng
tange	tongs		tongz
bang N.	bang	172	bæng
ancleow	ancl		æncł
ranc	ranc		rænc
hlanc	lanc		lænc
þancian	þanc	176	þænc
ſanc	ſanc		sænc
ſcranc	ſhranc		ſhrænc
ſtanc	ſtanc		ſtænc
dranc	dranc	180	drænc
ænig	aani (a)		eni
hanep	hemp		hemp

a, æ, ea, ð (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.
rann	ran		ræn
rannsaca N.	ransac	184	rænsæc
lane	laan		léin
ðanne	ðan		ðæn
	ðen		ðen
swan	swan	188	swon
gespann	span		spæn
wann (<i>pret.</i>)	†wun		wøn
wann (<i>adj.</i>)	wan		won
wanian	waan	192	wéin
hwanne	when		when
fana	vaan		véin
mann	man		mæn
mane	maan	196	méin
manig	maani (a)		meni
begann	began		begæn
ganot	ganet		gænæt
cann	can	200	cæn
crana	craan		créin
bana	baan		béin
gebann	ban		bæn
panne	pan	204	pæn
an(d)swarian	answer		aansær
anfilt	anvil		ænvil
and	and		ænd
hand	hand	208	hænd
land	land		lænd
sand	sand		sænd
standan	stand		stænd
strand	strand	212	strænd
wand N. (vöndr)	wand		wond
wand (<i>pret.</i>)	†wuund		waund
wandrian	wander		wondær
candel	candl	216	cændl
band (<i>pret.</i>)	†buund		baund
band (<i>subst.</i>)	{ band		bænd
	{ bond		bond
brand	brand	220	brænd
wanta, N.	want		wont
plantian	plant		plaant

a, æ, ea, ò (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.
ic eam	am		æm
æmette	emet	224	emet, aant
hamor	hamer		hæmør
ramm	ram		ræm
lama (<i>adj.</i>)	laam		léim
same	saam	228	séim
swamm	swam		swæm
scamu	shaam		shéim
fram	from		from
nama	naam	232	néim
gamen	gaam		géim
crammian	cram		cræm
cwam	caam		céim
damm	dam	236	dæm
tama (<i>adj.</i>)	taam		téim
<hr/>			
lamb	lamb		læm
wamb	wóomb		wuum
camb	còomb	240	cóum
damp (<i>subst.</i>) N.	damp		dæmp
<hr/>			
haga	hau		hòò
læg	lai		léi
lagu	lau	244	lòò
sage	sau		sòò
sagu			
slagan	slai		sléi
wagian	wag		wæg
fleagan	flai	248	fléi
mæg	mai		méi
maga	mau		mòò
gnagan	gnau		nòò
dæg	dai	252	déi
*dagenian	daun		dòòn
dragan {	drag		dræg
	drau		dròò
<hr/>			
fæg(e)r	fair	256	fèær
<hr/>			
hæg(e)l	hail		héil
snæg(e)l	snail		snéil
næg(e)l	nail		néil
tæg(e)l	tail	260	téil

a, æ, ea, ð (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.
ægðer	eiðer	<i>either</i>	{ iiðer aiðer
slæg(e)n	slain	<i>slain</i>	sléin
fæg(e)n	fain	<i>fain</i>	féin
mæg(e)n	main	264 <i>main</i>	méin
ongæg(e)n	again	<i>again</i>	{ ægéin ægèin
bræg(e)n	brain	<i>brain</i>	bréin
sægde	said	<i>said</i>	sed
mægd	maid	268 <i>maid</i>	méid
æcer	aacer	<i>acere</i>	éicær
æcern	aacorn	<i>acorn</i>	éicøæn
race	raac	<i>rake</i>	réic
þæc	þach	272 <i>thatch</i>	þæch
rannsaca N.	ransac	<i>ransack</i>	rænsæc
sacu	saac	<i>sake</i>	séic
snaca	snaac	<i>snake</i>	snéic
scacan	shaac	276 <i>shake</i>	shéic
stacu	staac	<i>stake</i>	stéic
spræc	{ spaac †spòðc	<i>spake</i> <i>spoke</i>	spéic spóuc
wacan	waac	280 <i>wake</i>	wéic
wræc	wrec	<i>wreck</i>	rec
nacod	naaced	<i>naked</i>	néiced
macian	maac	<i>make</i>	méic
caca N.	caac	284 <i>cake</i>	céic
cwacian	cwaac	<i>cwake</i>	ewéic
taca N.	taac	<i>take</i>	téic
bæc	bac	<i>back</i>	bæc
bacan	baac	288 <i>bake</i>	béic
bræc	{ braac †bròðc	<i>brake</i> <i>broke</i>	bréic bróuc
blæc	blac	<i>black</i>	blæc
eax	ax	292 <i>axe</i>	æx
axan } (under sc)			
æxian }			
weax			
weaxan }	wax	<i>wax</i>	wæx
fleax	flax	<i>flax</i>	flæx

a, æ, ea, ò (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.
ædese	adis		<i>addice, adze</i> ædz
hæ(f)de	had	296	<i>had</i> hæd
hladan {	laad		<i>lade</i> léid
hlæder	lood		<i>load</i> lóud
hlæ(f)dige	lader		<i>ladder</i> lædər
sæd	laadi	300	<i>lady</i> léidi
sadol	sad		<i>sad</i> sæd
sceadu	sadl		<i>saddle</i> sædl
wadan	shadu		<i>shadow, shade</i> shædóu, shéid
fæder	waad	304	<i>wade</i> wéid
gema(c)od	faðer		<i>father</i> faaðər
gegadorian	maad		<i>made</i> méid
tôgædere	gaðer		<i>gather</i> gæðər
glæd	togeðer	308	<i>together</i> tugeðər
cradol	glad		<i>glad</i> glæd
*geclæðed	craadl		<i>cradle</i> eréidl
træd	clad		<i>clad</i> clæd
nædre	†trod	312	<i>trod</i> †trod
blæd	ader		<i>adder</i> ædər
blædre	blaad		<i>blade</i> bléid
	blader		<i>bladder</i> blædər
<hr/>			
æt (<i>prep.</i>)	at	316	<i>at</i> æt
æt (<i>pret.</i>)	aat		<i>ate</i> éit, et
hatian	haat		<i>hate</i> héit
hætt	hat		<i>hat</i> hæt
læt (<i>lata</i>)	laat	320	<i>late</i> léit
þæt	ðat		<i>that</i> ðæt
sæt	sat		<i>sat</i> sæt
sæterdæg	saturdai		<i>saturday</i> sætədi
wæter	water	324	<i>water</i> wòtər
hwæt	what		<i>what</i> whot
spætte (<i>pret.</i>)	spat		<i>spat</i> spæt
fæt	vat		<i>vat</i> væt
fætt (<i>adj.</i>)	fat	328	<i>fat</i> fæt
flat N.	flat		<i>flat</i> flæt
geat (<i>subst.</i>)	gaat		<i>gate</i> géit
begeat (<i>pret.</i>)	got		<i>got</i> got
gnætt	gnat	332	<i>gnat</i> næt
eatt	cat		<i>cat</i> cæt
<hr/>			
crabba	crab		<i>crab</i> cræb
<hr/>			

a, æ, ea, ò (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.
apa	aap		éip
happ N.	hapi	336	hæpi
scapan	shaap		shéip
æppel	apl		æpl
sæp	sap		sæp
hnæppian	nap	340	næp
geapian	gaap		géip
cnapa	cnaav		néiv
papol(stān)	pebl		pebl

ei (ey). (*All Norse.*)

ei	ai	344	aye	ai, éi
þei(r) N.	ðai (ei)		they	ðéi
nei	nai		nay	néi
þeirra N.	ðeir		their	ðèor
heil	hail	348	hail!	héil
reisa	raiz		raise	réiz
hrein N.	rain(déer)		rein(deer)	réin(diør)
swein	swain		swain	swéin
steic	stècc	352	steak	stéic
weic	wècc		weak	wiic
beita	bait		bait	béit
deyja	dii		die	dai

ā.

rā	ròò	356	roe	róu
lā	lòò		lo!	lón, lòò
slā	slòò		sloe	slóu
swā	sòò		so	sóu
wā	wòò	360	woe	wóu
hwā	hwóó		who	huu

h; r, hr, l, hl; ƿ, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

ā (*continued*).

OLD.		MIDDLE.		MODERN.	
frā N.		fròò		(<i>to and</i>) <i>fro</i>	fróu
nā		nòò		<i>no</i>	nóu
(ic) gā		gòò	364	<i>go</i>	góu
dā		dòò		<i>doe</i>	dóu
tā		tòò		<i>toe</i>	tóu
twā		twóó		<i>two</i>	tuu
<hr/>					
āhte		òòuht	368	<i>ought</i>	òòt
(n)āht	{	(n)auht not		(<i>n</i>) <i>ought</i> <i>not</i>	(n)òòt not
<hr/>					
hāl	{	{hòòl {hwòòl haal	}	<i>whole</i>	hóul
			372	<i>hale</i>	heil
hālgian (<i>under a</i>)					
māl		mòòl		<i>mole</i>	móul
gedāl		dòòl		<i>dole</i>	dóul
<hr/>					
ār		òòr		<i>oar</i>	òær
hār		hòòr	376	<i>hoar</i>	hòær
rārian		ròòr		<i>roar</i>	ròær
lār		lòòr		<i>lore</i>	lòær
sār		sòòr		<i>sore</i>	sòær
māre		mòòr	380	<i>more</i>	mòær
gāre		gòòr		<i>gore</i>	gòær
geāra		ȝòòr		<i>ȝore</i>	ȝòær
bār		bòòr		<i>boar</i>	bòær
<hr/>					
hlā(f)ord		lord	384	<i>lord</i>	lòæd
<hr/>					
āð		òòþ		<i>oath</i>	óuþ
wrāð	{	wraþ wròðþ		<i>wrath</i> <i>wroth</i>	raaþ rò(ò)þ
lāðian		lòòð	388	<i>loathe</i>	lóuð
nā(n)þing		noþing		<i>nothing</i>	nəþing
clāð		cloþ		<i>cloth</i>	clò(ò)þ
clāðian		clòòð		<i>clothe</i>	clóuð
bāðir, N.		bòòþ	392	<i>both</i>	bóuþ
<hr/>					
hās		hòòrs		<i>hoarse</i>	hòòæs
ārās		aròòz		<i>arose</i>	æróuz
þās		ðòòz		<i>those</i>	ðóuz
*hwās		whòòz	396	<i>whose</i>	huuz

a(æ ea ei), i, é(eo), è, ē, æ, eā, eō, u, o.

ā (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.
āscian (<i>under a</i>)			
*māst	mòòst	<i>most</i>	móust
gāst	gòòst	<i>ghost</i>	góust
lāwerce (<i>under a</i>)			
þāwan	þau	400 <i>thaw</i>	þòò
þrāwan	þròòu	<i>throw</i>	þróu
sāwan	sòòu	<i>sow</i>	sóu
snāw	snòòu	<i>snow</i>	snóu
māwan	mòòu	404 <i>mow</i>	móu
crāwan	cròòu	<i>crow</i>	cróu
cnāwan	cnòòu	<i>know</i>	nóu
blāwan	blòòu	<i>blow</i>	blóu
sāwl	sòòul	408 <i>soul</i>	sóul
āwƿer (=āhwæƿer) or		<i>or</i>	òær
gesāw(e)n	sòòun	<i>sown</i>	sóun
geþrāw(e)n	þròòun	<i>thrown</i>	þróun
gecnāw(e)n	cnòòun	412 <i>known</i>	nóun
hlāf	lòòf	<i>loaf</i>	lóuf
hlāford (<i>under r</i>)			
drāf	dròòv	<i>drove</i>	dróuv
ān	òòn, an, a	<i>one, an, a</i>	wæn, æn, æ
ānlíce	òònli	416 <i>only</i>	óunli
lān N.	lòòn	<i>loan</i>	lóun
nān	nòòn	<i>none</i>	næn
scān	shòòn	<i>shone</i>	shon
stān	stòòn	420 <i>stone</i>	stóun
? mānian	mòòn	<i>moan</i>	móun
gegān (<i>part.</i>)	gòòn	<i>gone</i>	gon
grānian	gròòn	<i>groan</i>	gróun
bān	bòòn	424 <i>bone</i>	bóun
hām	hòòm	<i>home</i>	hóum
lām	lòòm	<i>loam</i>	lóum
hwām	whóóm	<i>whom</i>	huum
fām	fòòm	428 <i>foam</i>	fóum
clām	clami	<i>clammy</i>	clæmi

h; r, hr, l, hl; ƿ, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

ā (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.
āgan	òòu		óu
lāg	lòòu		lóu
fāg	fòò	432	fóu
dāg	dòòuh		dóu
āg(e)n	òòun		óun
āc	òòc		óuc
(wed)lāc	(wed)loc	436	(wed)loc
strācian	stròòc		stróuc
spāca	spòòc		spóuc
tācen	tòòcen		tóucen
-hād	-hóód	440	-hud
rād	ròòd		róud
lād	lòòd(stòon)		lóud(stóun)
wād	wòòd		wóud
gād	gòòd	444	góud
tāde	tòòd		tóud
ābād	abòòd		əbóud
brād	bròòd		bróud
? ādl			
āte	òòts	448	óuts
hāt	hot		hot
swāt (<i>under</i> ā = èè)			
wāt	wot		wot
wrāt	wròòt		róut
gāt	gòòt	452	góut
bāt	bòòt		bóut
rāp	ròòp		róup
sāpe	sòòp		sóup
swāpan (<i>under</i> ā = éé)			
grāpian	gròòp	456	gróup
pāpa	pòòp		póup

ī.

riht	riht	<i>right</i>	rait
gelīhtan	liht	(a) <i>light</i>	lait

a(æ ea ei), i, é(eo), è, ē, ā, eā, eō, u, o.

i (continued).

OLD.		MIDDLE.		MODERN.	
gesihð		siht	460	sight	sait
wiht	{	wiht		wight	wait
		whit		whit	whit
niht		niht		night	nait
miht		miht	464	might	mait
eniht		eniht		knight	nait
briht		briht		bright	brait
pliht		pliht		plight	plait
hire		hir (e)	468	her	hæor
scire		shiir		shire	shiiør, shaiør
stigrāp		stirup		stirrup	stirøp
cirice (<i>under y</i>)					
mirhð		mirþ		mirth	mæøþ
wirsa (<i>under y</i>)					
hirde		herd	472	(shep)herd	(shep)ød
*þirda (= þridda)		þird		third	þæød
*bird (= bridd)		bird		bird	bæød
ill N.		il		ill	il
scilling		shiling	476	shilling	shiling
scil N.		scil		skill	scil
stille		stil		still	stil
spillan		spil		spill	spil
willa		wil	480	will	wil
wilig		wilu		willow	wilóu
gillan		yel		yell	yel
til N. (<i>prep.</i>)	{	til		till	til
tilian					
bill		bil	484	bill	bil
film(en)		film		film	film
seoloc		sile		silk	sile
swile (<i>under c</i>)					
hwile (<i>under c</i>)					
meole		mile		milk	mile
scild		shiild	488	shield	shiild
wilde		wiild		wild	waiild
milde		miild		mild	maiild

i (continued).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.
gild	gild		gild
gildan	yiild	492	yiild
cild	chiild		chaild
cildru	children		children
hilt	hilt		hilt
smið	smiþ	496	smith
wið	wið		with
fiðele	fidl		fiddle
niðer	neðer		nether
piða	piþ	500	pith
is	iz		iz
his	hiz		hiz
þis	ðis		ðis
*þise	ðèèz	504	ðiiz
mis-	mis-		mis-
missan	mis		mis
gise	yis (e)		yes
bliss	blis	508	blis
fisc	fish		fish
disc	dish		dish
biscop	bishop		bishəp
wīsdōm	wizdom	512	wisdəm
list	list		list
þistel	þistl		þisl
mist	mist		mist
gist	yèèst	516	yiist
misteltā	mistltòò		misltóu
Crist	Criist		Craist
cristenian	cristen		crisu
gist	yèèst	520	yiist
gistrandæg	yisterdai (e)		yestædi
hwistlian	whistl		whisl
wlisp (adj.)	lisp		lisp
hwisprian	whisper	524	whispər
siwian	seu		sóu
niwe	neu		nyuu

i (continued).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.
eliwe tiwes dæg	cleu teuzdai	528	<i>clew</i> <i>Tuesday</i> cluu tyuuzdi
ifig	iivi		aivi
lifian	liv		liv
lifer	liver		livər
sife	siv	532	siv
stif	stif		stif
wifel	wiivil		wiivəl
gif	if		if
gifan	giv	536	giv
clif	clif		clif
drifen	driven		drivən
siftan	sift		sift
swift	swift	540	swift
scrift	shrift		shrift
fiftig	fifti		fifti
gift	gift		gift
hring	ring	544	ring
-ling	-ling		-ling
þing	þing		þing
singan	sing		sing
swingan	swing	548	swing
stingan	sting		sting
springan	spring		spring
wæng N. (vængr)	wing		wing
finger	finger	552	finger
cringan	crinj		crinj
clingan	cling		cling
bringan	bring		bring
sincan	sinc	556	sinc
slinean	sline		sline
scrinean	shrine		shrine
stincan	stinc		stinc
wincian	wine	560	wine
drinean	drinc		drinc
twincian	twincl		twincl
in(n)	in		in
rinnan	run	564	rən
lin	linen		linen

h; r, hr, l, hl; ʃ, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

i (continued).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.
scin(bān)	shin		shin
scinn N.	scin		scin
spinnan	spin	568	spin
gewinnan	win		win
windwian	winu		winóu
finn	fin		fin
beginnan	begin	572	begin
cinne	chin		chin
tinn	tin		tin
getwinnan	twinz		twinz
binn	bin	576	bin
hinde	hiind		haind
hindema	hindermòest		hindermóust
rind	riind		raind
lind	linden	580	lindən
sinder	sinder		sindər
spindel	spindl		spindl
wind	wind		wind
windan	wiind	584	waind
windauga N.	windu		windóu
windwian (under n)			
findan	fiind		faind
grindan	griind		graind
bindan	biind	588	baind
blind	bliind		blaind
stintan	stint		stint
winter	winter		wintər
flint	flint	592	flint
mintē	mint		mint
him	him		him
rima	rim		rim
lim	limb	596	lim
swimman	swim		swim
wifman	wuman		wumən
wifmen	wumen (i)		wimen
grimm	grim	600	grim
dimm	dim		dim
climban	cliimb		claim
timber	timber		timbər

II (continued).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.	
iegland	iiland	604	island	ailönd
higian	hii		hie	hai
liegan	lii		lie	lai
frigedæg	friidai		Friday	fraidī
nigon	niin	608	nine	nain
tigel	tiil		tile	tail
twig	twig		twig	twig
<hr/>				
ic	ich, ii		I	ai
-lic	-li	612	(like)ly	-li
liccian	lic		lick	lic
þicce	þic		thick	þic
stician	stic		stick	stic
gestricen	stricen	616	stricken	stricæn
swi(l)c	such		such	sæch
wicu	wiic		week	wiic
wicce	wich		witch	wich
hwi(l)c	which	620	which	which
ficol	fiel		fickle	fiel
flicce	flich		fitch	flich
micel	much		much	mæch
gicel	(iis)icel	624	(ic)icle	(ais)icel
ewic	ewic		quick	ewic
bicce	bich		bitch	bich
pie	pich		pitch	pich
prician	prie	628	prick	prie
six	six		six	six
betwix	betwixt		betwixt	betwixt
<hr/>				
hider	hiðer		hither	hiðer
riden	riden	632	ridden	ridn
hlid	lid		lid	lid
þider	ðiðer		thither	ðiðer
þrida (<i>under r</i>)				
widuwe	widu		widow	widóu
hwider	whiðer	636	whither	whiðer
bidn	bidn		bidden	bidn
bridd (<i>under r</i>)				
*widð	widþ		width	width
tōmidde	midst		midst	midst
<hr/>				
hit	it	640	it	it
hitta N.	hit		hit	hit

ī (continued).

OLD.		MIDDLE.		MODERN.
sittan		sit	<i>sit</i>	sit
sliten	}	slit	<i>slit</i>	slit
slitan				
smiten		smiten	644 <i>smitten</i>	smitn
gewitt	}	wit	<i>wit</i>	wit
witan				
writen		writen	<i>written</i>	ritn
git		yit (e)	<i>yet</i>	yet
begitan		get	648 <i>get</i>	get
edwītan		twit	<i>twit</i>	twit
bite		bit	<i>bit</i>	bit
biter		biter	<i>bitter</i>	bitər
<hr/>				
ribb		rib	652 <i>rib</i>	rib
sibb		(go)sip	<i>(gos)sip</i>	(go)sip
cribb		crib	<i>crib</i>	crib
<hr/>				
lippa		lip	<i>lip</i>	lip
slīpan		slip	656 <i>slip</i>	slip
scip		ship	<i>ship</i>	ship
-scipe		-ship	<i>(wor)ship</i>	-ship
gripe		grip	<i>grip</i>	grip
clippa N.		clip	660 <i>clip</i>	clip

ī.

bī	bii	<i>by</i>	bai
<hr/>			
gelīhtan (<i>under i</i>)			
<hr/>			
īrland	iirland	<i>Ireland</i>	aiələnd
īren	iiron	<i>iron</i>	aiən
scīr	(shiir)	664 <i>sheer</i>	shiər
wīr	wiir	<i>wire</i>	waiər
<hr/>			
smīla N.	smiil	<i>smile</i>	smail
wīle	wiil	<i>wile</i>	wail
hwīl	whiil	668 <i>while</i>	whail
fīl	fiil	<i>file</i>	fail
mīl	miil	<i>mile</i>	mail
<hr/>			
līðe	liið	<i>lithe</i>	laið
strið	striif	672 <i>strife</i>	straif

I (continued).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.
wriðan bliðe	wriið bliið		writhe blithe raið blaið
is arisan wis wisdōm	iis ariiz wiiz wizdom	676	ice arise wise wisdom ais əraiz waiz wizdəm
stiweard spīwan	steuard speu	680	steward spew styuuəd spyuu
lif þrifan scrifan stif wif fif enif drifan	liif þriiiv shriiiv stif wiif fiiv eniif driiiv	684 688	life thrive shrive stiff wife five knife drive laif þraiiv shraiiv stif waif faiv naif draiiv
wifman (under im)			
fiftig	fifti		fifty fifti
lin (under i) þin swin scinan scrin win min twīn pīnan	ðiin swiin shiin shriin wiin mii(n) twiin piin	692 696	thine swine shine shrine wine mine, my twine pine ðain swain shain shrain wain mai(n) twain pain
rīm hrīm līm slīm wī(f)man (under im) tīma	riim riim liim sliim tiim	700	rhyme rime lime slime time raim raim laim slaim taim
stige stigel stigrap	stii stiil stirup	704	stye stile stirrup stai stail stirəp

h; r, hr, l, hl; ð, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

\bar{i} (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.
mīgan	mii		mii
rīce	rich		rich
gelīc	liic	708	like
-līc (<i>under i</i>)			laic
sīcan	siih		sai
snīcan	sneëk		sniic
strīcan	striic		straic
dīc {	diic	712	dyke
	dich		ditch
īdel	iidl		aidl
rīdan	riid		raid
sīde	siid	716	said
slīdan	sliid		slaid
wīd	wiid		waid
glīdan	gliid		glaid
cīdan	chiid	720	chaid
tīd	tiid		taid
bīdan	biid		baid
brīdels	briidl		braidl
slītan (<i>under i</i>)			
smītan	smiit	724	smite
edwītan (<i>under i</i>)			smait
wrītan	wriit		rait
hwīt	whiit		whait
bītan	biit		bait
rīpe	riip	728	ripe
rīpan	rèëp		reap
slīpan	slip		slip
grīpan	griip		grape

y.

flyht	fliht	732	flight	flait
byht	biht		bight	bait
styrian	stir		stir	stœr
cyrice	church (i, y)		church	chœch

a(æ ea ei), i, é(co), è, ē, æ, eā, eō, u, o.

y (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.
byrig	-byri	736 (<i>Canter</i>)	bury -bæri
wyrhta	wriht		wright rait
þyrlian (<i>under l</i>)			
byrðen	burden		burden bæðn
wyrsa	wurs		worse wæəs
fyrz	furz	740	furze fæəz
þyrstan	þirst		thirst þæəst
fyrsta	first		first fæəst
wyrm	wurm		worm wœəm
bebyrgan	byri	744	bury beri
wyrean	wurc		work wœəc
myrc	mirci		mirky mæəci
wyrd (<i>subs.</i>)	wiird		wierd (adj.) wiəd
gebyrd	birþ	748	birth bæəþ
scyrta N. {	skirt		skirt skæət
wyrt	shirt		shirt shæət
	wurt		wort wæət
? yfel (<i>see ill</i>)	il	752	ill il
hyll	hil		hill hil
þyrlian	þril		thrill þril
syll	sil		sill sil
mylen	mil	756	mill mil
fyllan	fil		fill fil
bylgja N.	bilu		billow bilou
fýlð	filþ		filth filþ
gyldan	gild	760	gild gild
byldan	byld (i)		build bild
gylt	gilt		guilt gilt
cýðð	ciþ		kith (and kin) ciþ

y (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.	
cyssan	cis	764	kiss	cis
bysig	byzi		busy	bizi
wȳscan	wish		wish	wish
lystan	list		list(less)	list
fȳst	fist	768	fist	fist
clyster	cluster		cluster	clæster
treysta N.	tryst (u)		trust	træst
yfel	? èèvel		evil	iivl
lyftan	lift	772	lift	lift
cyng	cing		king	cing
ynce	inch		inch	inch
þyncean	þinc		think	þinc
þynne	þin	776	thin	þin
synn	sin		sin	sin
cynn	cin		kin	cin
cynning(under ng)				
dyne	din		din	din
mynster	minster	780	minster	minster
gemynd	miind		mind	maind
gecynde	ciind		kind	caind
tynder	tinder		tinder	tindær
byndel	bundl	784	bundle	bændl
mynet	mint		mint	mint
dynt	dint		dint	dint
trymman	trim		trim	trim
cymlic	cumli	788	comely	cæmli
hrycg	rij		ridge	rij
lyge	lii		lie	lai
flecge (adj.)	flejd		fledged	flejd
mycg	mij	792	mij	mij

y (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.
dryge byegan bryeg	drii byy brij		<i>dry</i> <i>buy</i> <i>bridge</i> drai bai brij
? lycci N. þyce mycel cycen cycene cryce	luc þic much (i) chicen cichen cruch	796 800	<i>luck</i> <i>thick</i> <i>much</i> <i>chicken</i> <i>kitchen</i> <i>crutch</i> lœc þic mœch chicen cichen crœch
fyxen	vixen		<i>vixen</i> vixæn
gehȳded dyde	hid did	804	<i>hid</i> <i>did</i> hid did
lytel scytel scyttan spyttan flytja N. enyttan pytt	litl shutl shut (i) spit flit enit pit	808	<i>little</i> <i>shuttle</i> <i>shut</i> <i>spit</i> <i>flit</i> <i>knit</i> <i>pit</i> litl shœtl shœt spit flit nit pit
clyppan dyppan	clip dip	812	<i>clip</i> <i>dip</i> clip dip

ȳ.

scȳ N. hwȳ cȳ	skii whii cii	816	<i>sky</i> <i>why</i> <i>kye</i> skai whai cai
ahȳrian fȳr	hiir fiir		<i>hire</i> <i>fire</i> haiær faier
gefȳlan	fil		(<i>de</i>) <i>file</i> fail
fȳlð (<i>under y</i>)			
hȳð	hiið	820	<i>hithe</i> haið

h; r, hr, l, hl; ð, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

\bar{y} (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.
<i>eȳðð</i> (<i>under y</i>)			
<i>lȳs</i>	<i>liis</i>	<i>lice</i>	<i>lais</i>
<i>mȳs</i>	<i>miis</i>	<i>mice</i>	<i>mais</i>
<i>fȳst</i> (<i>under y</i>)			
<i>wȳsean</i> (<i>under y</i>)			
<i>hȳd</i>	<i>hiid</i>	<i>hide</i>	<i>haid</i>
<i>hȳdan</i>	<i>hiid</i>	824 <i>hide</i>	<i>haid</i>
<i>brȳd</i>	<i>briid</i>	<i>bride</i>	<i>braid</i>
<i>prȳte</i>	<i>priid</i>	<i>pride</i>	<i>praid</i>

é, eo.

þe(=se)	ðe	the	ðe, ðə
? bleoh(=blue)			
leōht	liht	828 light	lait
feohtan	fiht	fight	fait
<hr/>			
smerian	smèèr	smear	smiør
sceran	shèèr	shear	shiør
steorra	star	832 star	star
spere	spèèr	spear	spiør
feorr	far	far	far
merg (adj.)	meri	merry	meri
teran	tèèr	836 tear	tèør
teru	tar	tar	tar
beran	bèèr	bear	bèør
bera			
<hr/>			
beorht (see briht)			
<hr/>			
merhð	mirþ	mirth	mæþ
eorðe	èèrþ	840 earth	æþ
heorð	hèèrþ	hearth	hæþ
weorð	wurþ	worth	wæþ
feorðling	farðing	farthing	faæðing
*dērð	dèèrþ	844 dearth	dæþ

é, eo (continued).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.
eorl	èèrl		èal
ceorl	churl		chæal
cerse (<i>under s</i>)			
þerscan	þrash	<i>thrash</i>	þræsh
ferse (<i>under sc</i>)			
berstan	burst	848 <i>burst</i>	bæast
ceorfan	carv	<i>carve</i>	caæv
sweorfan	swerv	<i>swerve</i>	swæv
steorfan	starv	<i>starve</i>	staæv
eornan	run	852 <i>run</i>	røn
eornost	èèrnest	<i>earnest</i>	ænest
leornian	lèèrn	<i>learn</i>	læu
speornan	spurn	<i>spurn</i>	spæu
gernan	yèèrn	856 <i>yearn</i>	yæu
beornan	burn	<i>burn</i>	bæu
beorma	barm	<i>barm</i>	baëm
dweorg	dwarf	<i>dwarf</i>	dwòæf
beorg {	? (iis)berg	860 <i>(ice)berg</i>	(ais)bææg
	baru	<i>barrow</i>	bæróu
weorc	wurc	<i>work</i>	wæc
deorc	darc	<i>dark</i>	daec
beorce	birch	864 <i>birch</i>	bæach
beorcan	barc	<i>bark</i>	baec
hērcnian {	hare	<i>hark</i>	haec
	hèèrcen	<i>hearken</i>	haecen
sweord	swurd	868 <i>sword</i>	sòòæd
heort	hart	<i>hart</i>	hart
heorte	hèèrt	<i>heart</i>	hart
swellan	swel	<i>swell</i>	swel
smella N.	smel	872 <i>smell</i>	smel
stelan	stèèl	<i>steal</i>	stiil
spellian	spel	<i>spell</i>	spel
wel	wel	<i>well</i>	wel
wela	wèèl	876 <i>weal</i>	wiil
fell	fel	<i>fell</i>	fel

h; r, hr, l, hl; ƿ, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

é, eo (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.
fēlagi N.	felu		felóu
melu	mèl		miil
geolo	yelu	880	yelóu
ewelan	ewail		ewéil
belle	bel		bel
seolh	sèl		siil
self	self	884	self
seolfor	silver		silvər
delfan	delv		delv
twelf	twelv		twelv
elm	elm	888	elm
helm	helm		helm
swelgan	swalu		swolóu
belgan	belu		belóu
seoloc	sile	892	sile
weoloc	wele		wele
meole	mile		mile
geolca	yole		yóuc
heōld (<i>pret.</i>)	held	896	held
seldon	seldom		seldəm
feld	fiild		fiild
smeltan	smelt		smelt
gefēled	felt	900	felt
meltan	melt		melt
helpan	help		help
gelpan	yelp		yelp
leðer	lèðer	904	leðər
weðer	weðer		weðər
beneoðan	benèð		benið
brēðer	breðren		breðren
cerse	cres	908	cres
blētsian	bles		bles
wesle	wèezəl		wiizl
besma	bezom		bezəm

é, eo (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.
þrescan fersc	þresh fresh	912 <i>thresh</i> <i>fresh</i>	þræsh fresh
sweostor nest cest	sister nest chest	<i>sister</i> <i>nest</i> 916 <i>chest</i>	sistør nest chest
efen heofon seofan wefan fefer	èeven hèeven seven wèèv fèèver	<i>even</i> <i>heaven</i> <i>seven</i> 920 <i>weave</i> <i>fever</i>	iivn hevn sevn wiiv fiivør
þēf̃ð	þeft	<i>theft</i>	þeft
hēng	hung	<i>hung</i>	hung
tēn	ten	924 <i>ten</i>	ten
begeondan	beyond	<i>beyond</i>	beyond
eom (<i>see eam</i>) brēm̃el	brambl	<i>bramble</i>	bræmbl
weg be(de)gian plega	wai beg plai	928 <i>way</i> <i>beg</i> <i>play</i>	wéi beg pléi
leg(e)r	lair	<i>lair</i>	lèèr
seg(e)l	sail	<i>sail</i>	séil
reg(e)n geleg(e)n þeg(e)n tweg(e)n breg(e)n ? blegen	rain lain þaan twain brain blain	932 <i>rain</i> <i>lain</i> <i>thane</i> <i>twain</i> 936 <i>brain</i> <i>(chill)blain</i>	réin léin þéin twéin bréin bléin
bregdan	braid	<i>braid</i>	bréid
sprecan wrecan brecan	spèèc wrèèc brèèc	940 <i>speak</i> <i>wreak</i> <i>break</i>	spiie rec bréic

h; r, hr, l, hl; ð, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

é, eo (continued).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.
nēxt	next	<i>next</i>	next
bēcnian	becon	<i>beekon</i>	becən
weder	wèèðer	944 <i>weather</i>	weðər
fēded	fēd	<i>fed</i>	fēd
medu	mèèd	<i>mead</i>	miid
cnedan	cnèèd	<i>knead</i>	niid
tredan	trèèd	948 <i>tread</i>	tred
gebed	bèèd	<i>bead</i>	biid
brēded	brēd	<i>bred</i>	brēd
blēded	blēd	<i>bled</i>	blēd
etan	èèt	952 <i>eat</i>	iit
lēt (<i>pret.</i>)	let	<i>let</i>	let
fetor	feter	<i>fetter</i>	fetər
setlian	setl	<i>settle</i>	setl
nebb	nib	956 <i>nib</i>	nib
scāphirde	shepherd	<i>shepherd</i>	shepəd
*dēpð	depð	<i>depth</i>	depð
pepor	peper	<i>pepper</i>	pepər
slāpte	slept	960 <i>slept</i>	slept

è.

èrian	èèr	<i>ear</i>	iər
swèrian	swèèr	<i>swear</i>	swèər
wèrian	wèèr	<i>wear</i>	wèər
mère (<i>sm.</i>)	mèèr	964 <i>mere</i>	miər
mère (<i>sf.</i>)	maar	<i>mare</i>	mèər
mèrran	mar	<i>mar</i>	mar
bère	bar-	<i>bar-ley</i>	baəli
bèrige	beri	968 <i>berry</i>	beri
ār(e)st	erst	<i>erst</i>	əəst
mèrsc	marsh	<i>marsh</i>	maəsh

a(æ ea ei), i, é(eo), è, ē, ā, eā, eo, u, o.

è (continued).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.
hèrwe	haru	<i>harrow</i>	hærou
bèrn(=bère-ærn)	barn	972 <i>barn</i>	baæn
smèrcian	smirc	<i>smirk</i>	smæœc
gèrd	yard	<i>yard</i>	yaød
gèrdels	girdl	<i>girdle</i>	gæadl
begèrded	girt	976 <i>girt</i>	gææt
è(nd)lufon	eleven	<i>eleven</i>	elevæn
hèll	hel	<i>hell</i>	hel
sèllan	seī	<i>sell</i>	sel
gesælig	sili	980 <i>silly</i>	sili
scèll	shel	<i>shell</i>	shel
wèll	wel	<i>well</i>	wel
fèllan	fel	<i>fell</i>	fel
ewèllan {	ewel	984 <i>quell</i>	ewel
dwèlja N. {	cil	<i>kill</i>	cil
tèllan	dwel	<i>dwel</i>	dwel
	tel	<i>tell</i>	tel
èlles	els	988 <i>else</i>	els
wèlse	welsh	<i>Welsh</i>	welsh
scèlfe	shelf	<i>shelf</i>	shelf
èln	el	<i>ell</i>	el
tèlg	talū	992 <i>tallow</i>	tælou
bèlg {	beluz	<i>bellows</i>	belóuz
	beli	<i>belly</i>	beli
èldest	eldest	<i>eldest</i>	eldest
gewèldan	wiild	996 <i>wield</i>	wiild
gèlda N.	geld	<i>geld</i>	geld
bèlt	belt	<i>belt</i>	belt
hwèlp	whelp	<i>whelp</i>	whelp
flāesc	flesh	1000 <i>flesh</i>	flesh

h; r, hr, l, hl; ƿ, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

è (continued).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.
behās	behest		behest
wrāstan	wrest		rest
gèst	gest		gest
bè(t)st	best	1004	best
wèsp	wasp		wosp
āfre	ever		evər
éfese	èèvz		iivz
(ic) hēfe	hèèv	1008	hiiv
hēfig	hèèvi		hevi
èft	eft		eft
bereāfod	bereft		bereft
gelāfed	left	1012	left
ðām	ðem		ðem
stēmn	stem		stem
èngland	england		inglənd
ènglisc	english	1016	inglish
sèngan	sinj		sinj
*lèngð	lengþ		lengþ
strèngðo	strengþ		strengþ
hlènce	line	1020	line
þèncan (<i>see</i> þyncan)			
stènc	stench		stench
wèncle	wench		wench
frèncisc	french		french
cwèncan	cwench	1024	cwench
drèncan	drench		drench
bènc	bench		bench
hènnē	hen		hen
lānan	lend	1028	lend
wènian	wèen		wiin
wènn	wen		wen
fènn	fen		fen
mènn	men	1032	men
cènnan	cen		cen
dènn	den		den

a(æ ea ei), i, é(eo), è, ē, ā, eā, eō, u, o.

è (continued).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.
pèning clænsian	peni ?clenz	1036	<i>penny</i> <i>cleanse</i> peni clenz
ènde gehènde hrèndan sèndan spèndan wèndan bèndan blèndan	end handi rend send spend wend bend blend	1040	<i>end</i> <i>þhandy</i> <i>rend</i> <i>send</i> <i>spend</i> <i>wend</i> <i>bend</i> <i>blend</i> end hændi rend send spend wend bend blend
hrènded lèn(c)ten sended spènded wènded bènded	rent lent sent spent went bent	1048	<i>rent</i> <i>lent</i> <i>sent</i> <i>spent</i> <i>went</i> <i>bent</i> rent lent sent spent went bent
æmyrie tèmese	emberz (temz)	1052	<i>embers</i> <i>Thames</i> embæoz temz
èmtig	empti		<i>empty</i> em(p)ti
ège ècg ègg N. hège lècgan lègg N. sècgan sècg wècg	au ej eg hej lai leg sai sej wej	1056 1060	<i>awe</i> <i>edge</i> <i>egg</i> <i>hedge</i> <i>lay</i> <i>leg</i> <i>say</i> <i>sedge</i> <i>wedge</i> òò ej eg hej léi leg séi sej wej
èglan	ail		<i>ail</i> éil
èce rècenian hlèce (<i>adj.</i>) strèccan wrècca fèccan hnècca	aach recon lècc strech wrech fech nec	1064 1068	<i>ache</i> <i>reckon</i> <i>leak</i> <i>stretch</i> <i>wretch</i> <i>fetch</i> <i>neck</i> éic recæn liic strech rech fech nec

è (continued).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.
ahrèddan	rid		rid
gelæded	led	1072	led
stède	stèèd		sted
wèdd	wed		wed
bèdd	bed		bed
<hr/>			
lèttan	let	1076	let
lætan			
sèttan	set		set
gesèted			
wæt (<i>adj.</i>)	wet		wet
hwèttan	whet		whet
nètt	net	1080	net
nètele	netl		netl
mète	mèèt		miit
cètel	cetl		cetl
bètera	beter	1084	betər
<hr/>			
èbbian	eb		eb
wèbb	web		web
nèbb	nib		nib
<hr/>			
stèppan	step	1088	step

ē.

hē	héé		hii
þē	þéé		þii
wē	wéé		wii
mē	mée	1092	mii
gē	yée		yii
<hr/>			
hēh	hiih		hai
nēh	niih		nai
<hr/>			
hēr	héér	1096	hiər
gehēran	? hèèr (ée)		hiər
wērig	? wèèri (ée)		wiəri
<hr/>			
hērcnian	hèèrcen		haēcən

a(æ ea ei), i, é(eo), è, ē, æ, cā, eō, u, o.

ē (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.
gehērde	hèerd	1100	<i>heard</i> hœd
hēl	héél		<i>heel</i> hiil
stēl	stéél		<i>steel</i> stiil
fēlan	féél		<i>feel</i> fiil
cēle	chil	1104	<i>chill</i> chil
? cnēla N.	cnéél		<i>kneel</i> niil
smēðe (<i>under</i> ð)			
tēð	téép		<i>teeth</i> tiip
brēðer (<i>under</i> é)			
gelēfan	beléév		<i>believe</i> beliiv
slēfe	sléév	1108	<i>sleeve</i> sliiv
dēfan	diiv		<i>dive</i> daiv
þēfð (<i>under</i> é)			
hēng (<i>pret.</i>) (<i>under</i> é)			
scēne	shéén		<i>sheen</i> shiin
wēnan	wéén	1112	<i>ween</i> wiin
grēne	gréén		<i>green</i> griin
cēne	céén		<i>keen</i> ciin
ewēn	ewéén		<i>queen</i> ewiin
tēn	ten	1116	<i>ten</i> ten
þreōtēne	þirtéén		<i>thirteen</i> þætiin
bēn (<i>under</i> ð)			
gesēman	séém		<i>seem</i> siim
dēman	déém		<i>deem</i> diim
tēman	téém	1120	<i>teem</i> tiim
brēmel (<i>under</i> é)			
ēge (=eā)	ei, ii		<i>eye</i> ai
hēg	hai		<i>hay</i> héi
slæg N.	slii		<i>sly</i> slai
tēgan	tii	1124	<i>tie</i> tai
ēcan	ééc		<i>eke</i> iie
rēc (=eā)	rééc		<i>reek</i> riie
hrēc (=eā)	ric		<i>rick</i> rie
rēcan	rec	1128	<i>reck</i> rec
lēc (=eā)	lééc		<i>leek</i> liie

h; r, hr, l, hl; ð, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

ē (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.
sēcan	sééc		siic
cēc (= eā)	chééc		chiic
bēce	bééch	1132	biich
brēc	brééch		brüich

nēxt (*under é*)bēcnian (*under é*)

hēdan	hééd		hiid
rēdan	rèéd (ée)		riid
stēda	stééd	1136	stiid
spēd	spééd		spiid
fēdan	fééd		fiid
fēded (<i>under é</i>)			
nēd	nééd		niid
mēd	mééd	1140	miid
glēd	glééd		gliid
crēda	crééd		criid
brēdan	brééd		brüid
blēdan	blééd	1144	bliid

lēt (*under é*)

swēte	swéét		swiit
scēt (= eā)	shéét		shiit
fēt	féét		fiit
gemētan	méét	1148	miit
grētan	gréét		griit
bētel	béétl		biitl

blētsian (*under é*)

stēp (= eā)	stéép		stiip
stēpel	stéépl	1152	stiippl
wēpan	wéép		wüip
cēpan	céép		ciip
crēpel	cripl		cripl
dēpan (<i>see dyppan</i>)	dip	1156	dip

*dēpð (*under é*)

$\text{æ} = (\text{éé}).$

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.
hæ̃r	? hair		hè̃ar
þæ̃r	ðè̃er		ðè̃ar
wæ̃ron	wè̃er		wè̃ar
hwæ̃r	whè̃er	1160	whè̃ar
fæ̃r	fè̃er		fiar
bæ̃r	? bé̃er		biar
<hr/>			
æ̃l	é̃el		iil
? gesæ̃lig	sili	1164	sili
mæ̃l	mè̃el		miil
<hr/>			
bræ̃ð	brè̃ð		breð
*bræ̃ðan	brè̃ð		briið
<hr/>			
cæ̃se	ché̃ez	1168	chiiz
<hr/>			
æ̃fen	è̃even		iivn
<hr/>			
æ̃mette (<i>under a</i>)			
<hr/>			
wæ̃g	waav		wéiv
wæ̃gan	weih		wéi
hwæ̃g	whēi	1172	whéi
hnæ̃gan	neih		néi
græ̃g	grai, grei		gréi
cæ̃ge	cei		cii
<hr/>			
*wæ̃gð	weiht	1176	wéit
<hr/>			
læ̃ce	lé̃ech		liich
spræ̃c	spé̃ech		spiich
<hr/>			
þræ̃d	þrè̃d		þred
wæ̃d	wé̃édz	1180	wiudz
sæ̃d	sé̃éd		siid
græ̃dig	gré̃édi		grüidi
dæ̃d	dé̃éd		diid
ondræ̃dan	drè̃d	1184	dred
<hr/>			
næ̃dl	né̃edl		niidl
<hr/>			
læ̃tan (<i>under è</i>)			
stræ̃t	stré̃ét		striit
wæ̃t (<i>under è</i>)			

h; r, hr, l, hl; ð, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

$\bar{æ}$ (=éé) (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.	
blætan	blèèt	1188	<i>bleat</i>	bliit
slæp	sléép		<i>sleep</i>	sliip
swæpan	swéép		<i>sweep</i>	swiip
scæp	shéép		<i>sheep</i>	shiip
wæpen	wèèpon	1192	<i>weapon</i>	wepən
slæpte (<i>under é</i>)				

 $\bar{æ}$ (=èè).

sæ	sèè		<i>sea</i>	sii
tæhte (<i>under a</i>)				
ær	èèr		<i>ere</i>	èèær
ræran	rèèr		<i>rear</i>	riær
ærest (<i>under è</i>)				
hælan	hèèl	1196	<i>heal</i>	hiil
þræl N.	þræl		<i>thrall</i>	þròòl
dæl	dèèl		<i>deal</i>	diil
hælð	? hèèlþ		<i>health</i>	helþ
ælc (<i>under c</i>)				
hæðen	hèèðen	1200	<i>heathen</i>	hiiðən
scæð	shèèþ		<i>sheath</i>	shiip
wræð	wrèèþ		<i>wreath</i>	riip
? bræð	brèèþ		<i>breath</i>	breþ
? bræðan	brèèð	1204	<i>breathe</i>	briið
behæð (<i>under è</i>)				
tæsan	tèèz		<i>tease</i>	tiiz
flæsc (<i>under è</i>)				

a(æ ea ei), i, é(eo), è, ē, æ, eā, eō, u, o.

$\bar{æ}$ (=èè) (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.
lǣstan (<i>under a</i>) wrǣstan (<i>under è</i>)			
lǣwed	leud	<i>lewd</i>	lyuud
lǣfan hlǣfdige (<i>under a</i>) ǣfre (<i>under è</i>)	lèèv	<i>leave</i>	liiv
gelǣfed (<i>under è</i>)			
ǣnig (<i>under a</i>) lǣnan (<i>under è</i>)			
hlǣne	lèèn	1208 <i>lean</i>	liin
clǣne	clèèn	<i>clean</i>	cliin
mǣnan	mèèn	<i>mean</i>	miin
gemǣne	mèèn	<i>mean</i>	miin
ǣmyrie (<i>under è</i>) þǣm (<i>under è</i>)			
clǣg	clai	1212 <i>clay</i>	cléi
ǣ(l)c rǣcan tǣcan blǣc (=ā) blǣcan	èèch rèèch tèèch blèèc blèèch	<i>each</i> <i>reach</i> <i>teach</i> 1216 <i>bleak</i> <i>bleach</i>	iich riich tiich bliic bliich
rǣdan lǣdan gelǣded (<i>under è</i>)	rèèd lèèd	<i>read</i> <i>lead</i>	riid liid
*brǣdð	brèèð	1220 <i>breadth</i>	bredþ
hǣto sǣti N. swǣt spǣtte (<i>under a</i>) hwǣte wǣt (<i>under è</i>) fǣtt (<i>under a</i>)	hèèt sèèt swèèt whèèt	<i>heat</i> <i>seat</i> <i>sweat</i> 1224 <i>wheat</i>	hiit siit swet whiit

h; r, hr, l, hl; ð, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

eā.

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.
fleā	flèè		flii
geā	yèè		yéi
ceā	? chunh		chæf
þeāh	ðòòuh	1228	thouh
eāre	èèr		iər
forseārian	sèèr		siər
neār	nèèr		niər
geār	yèèr	1232	yīər
teār	tèèr		tīər
deāð	dèèþ		deþ
ceās	chòòz		chóuz
eāst	èèst	1236	iist
eāstre	èèster		iīster
heāwan	heu		hyuu
hreāw	rau		ròò
þeāw	þeu	1240	þyuu
sleāw	slòòu		slóu
sceāwian	shòòu (eu)		shóu
screāwa	shreu		shruu
streāw	strau	1244	stròò
streāwian	streu		struu
feāwa	feu		fyuu
deāw	deu		dyuu
breāw (<i>see brū</i>)			
heāfod (<i>under d</i>)			
bereāfian	bercèèv	1248	beriiiv
leāf	lèèf		liif
sceāf	shèèf		shiif
deāf	dèèf		def
beān	bèèn	1252	biin
seām	sèèm		siim
steām	stèèm		stiim
streām	strèèm		striim
gleām	glèèm	1256	gliim
dreām	drèèm		driim

eā (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.
teām	tèem	<i>team</i>	tiim
beām	bèem	<i>beam</i>	biim
cāge (<i>under ē</i>)			
fleāg	fleu	1260 <i>flew</i>	fluu
hreāc (<i>under ē</i>)			
leāc (<i>under ē</i>)			
ceāc (<i>under ē</i>)			
beācen	bèecon	<i>beacon</i>	biicēn
heā(fo)d	hèed	<i>head</i>	hed
reād	rèed	<i>red</i>	red
leād	lèed	1264 <i>lead</i>	led
sceādan	shed	<i>shed</i>	shed
screādan	shred	<i>shred</i>	shred
neād (<i>under ē</i>)			
deād	dèed	<i>dead</i>	ded
breād	brèed	1268 <i>bread</i>	bred
sceāt (<i>under ē</i>)			
sceāt (<i>pret.</i>)	†shot	<i>shot</i>	shot
neāt	nèet	<i>neat</i>	niit
greāt	grèet	<i>great</i>	gréit
beātan	bèet	1272 <i>beat</i>	biit
heāp	hèep	<i>heap</i>	hiip
hleāpan	hlèep	<i>leap</i>	liip
steāp (<i>under ē</i>)			
ceāp (<i>subs.</i>)	chèep (<i>adj.</i>)	<i>cheap</i>	chiip
ecāpman	chapman	1276 <i>chapman</i>	chæpmæn
creāp (<i>pret.</i>)	†crept	<i>crept</i>	crept

eō.

þreō	þrée	<i>three</i>	þrii
seōn (<i>vb.</i>)	sée	<i>see</i>	sii
seō	shée	1280 <i>she</i>	shii
feō(h)	fée	<i>fee</i>	fii

h; r, hr, l, hl; ʃ, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

eō (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.
freō	frée		frii
fleō	flée		flii
gleō	glée	1284	glii
beō (<i>vb.</i>)	bée		bii
beō (<i>subs.</i>)	bée		bii
<hr/>			
þeōh	þiih		þai
hreōh	ruuh	1288	ræf
<hr/>			
leōht (<i>under é</i>)			
hleōr	léér		liær
deōr	dээр		diiær
deōre	dээр (ée)		diiær
deōrling	darling	1292	daæling
dreōrig	drèèri		driæri
beōr	bээр		biiær
<hr/>			
feōrða	fourþ		fðæþ
hweōl	whéél	1296	whiil
? geōl	?		yuul
ceōl	céél		ciil
<hr/>			
heōld (<i>under é</i>)			
seōðan	séeð		siið
geō(g)uð	yuuþ	1300	yuuþ
<hr/>			
forleōsan	(lóóz)		luuz
freōsan	fréez		friiz
fleōse	flées		fliis
ceōsan	chóóz	1304	chuuz
<hr/>			
breōst	brèèst		brest
<hr/>			
eōw (<i>pron.</i>)	yuu		yuu
eōw	yeu		yuu
eōwe	eu	1308	yuu
hreōwan	reu		ruu
seōwian	seu		sóu
hleōw	lée		lii
feōwer	four	1312	fðær

a(æ ea ei), i, é(eo), è, ē, æ, eā, eō, u, o.

eō (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.
feōwertig	forti		fòeti
greōw (<i>pret.</i>)	greu		gruu
ceōwan	cheu		chuu
creōw (<i>pret.</i>)	creu	1316	cruu
cneōw (<i>pret.</i>)	cneu		nyuu
cneōw (<i>subs.</i>)	cnée		nii
treōw	tréc		trii
treōwe	treu	1320	truu
breōwan	breu		bruu
bleōw (<i>pret.</i>)	bleu		bluu
hreōwð	ryyþ		ruuþ
treōwð	tryyþ	1324	truuþ
leōf	(lééf)		liif
þeōf	(þééf)		þiif
cleōfan	cleev		cliiv
deōfol	devil	1328	devl
geōng	yung		yəng
betweōnan	betwéen		betwiin
*gebeōn (<i>partic.</i>)	béen		biin
feōnd	(féénd)	1332	fiind
freōnd	(fréénd)		frend
miūe N.	mééc		miic
leōgan	lii		lai
fleōga	flii	1336	flai
geōguð	yuuþ		yuuþ
hreōd	rééd		riid
weōd	wééd		wiid
neōd	nééd	1340	niid
beōdan	bid		bid
sceōtan	shóót		shuut
fleōt	fléét		fliit
beōt (<i>part.</i>)	beet	1344	biit
heōp (<i>rose</i>)	hip		hip

h; r, hr, l, hl; ð, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

eō (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.
hleōp (<i>pret.</i>)	†lept		lept
sweōp (<i>pret.</i>)	†swept		swept
weōp (<i>pret.</i>)	†wept	1348	wept
creōpan	crēep		criip
deōp	dēep		diip

u.

duru	(duur)		door	dòor
þurh { furh	þruuh þoruh furu	1352	through thorough furrow	þruu þərə fərou
crulla N.	curl		curl	cæł
wurð furðor	wurþ furðer	1356	worth further	wæþ fæðər
þunresdæg curs	þursdai curs		Thursday curse	þæzdi cæəs
turf	turf	1360	turf	tæf
murnian	muurn		mourn	mòen
wurm	wurm		worm	wæəm
burg	?boru		borough	bərə
wurean	wure	1364	work	wæec
swurd	swurd		sword	sòəd
wull full	?wuul (u) full		wool full	wul ful
crulla (<i>under r</i>) bulluca	buloc	1368	bullock	bulœc

a(æ ea ei), i, é(eo), è, ē, æ, eā, eō, u, o.

II (continued).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.
wulf sculdor	wulf shuulder		wolf shóulder
ūs hūs bō nda	us huzband	1372	us husband
tusc būa sic N.	tusc busc		tusk busk
rust lust gust N. dust	rust lust gust dust	1376	rust lust gust dust
lufu ēndlufon scūfan dūfe ōnbūfan	luv eleven shuv duv abuv	1380	love eleven shore dove above
hungor sungen wrungen clungen tunge	hunger sung wrung clung tung	1384 1388	hunger sung wrung clung tongue
munuc druncen	munc drunc		monk drunk
hunig þunor sunu sunne scūnian spunnen gewunnen nunne munuc (<i>underne</i>) cunnan dunn tunne under	huni þunder sun sun shun spun wun nun cuning dun tun under	1392 1396 1400	honey thunder son sun shun spun won nun cunning dun tun under
			hæni þænder sæn sæn shæn spæn wæn næn cæning dæn tæn ændær

h; r, hr, l, hl; ʃ, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

u (continued).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.
hund	huund	<i>hound</i>	haund
hundred	hundred	1404 <i>hundred</i>	hændred
sund (<i>subs.</i>)	} suund	<i>sound</i>	saund
gesund (<i>adj.</i>)			
sundor	sunder	<i>sunder</i>	səndər
wund	wuund	<i>wound</i>	wuund
gewunden	wuund	1408 <i>wound</i>	waund
wundor	wunder	<i>wonder</i>	wəndər
funden	fuund	<i>found</i>	faund
grund	gruund	<i>ground</i>	graund
grunden	gruund	1412 <i>ground</i>	graund
bunden	buund	<i>bound</i>	baund
pund	puund	<i>pound</i>	paund
huntian	hunt	<i>hunt</i>	hənt
stunt (<i>adj.</i>)	stunt	1416 <i>to stunt</i>	stənt
? munt	muunt	<i>mount</i>	maunt
<hr/>			
þūma	þumb	<i>thumb</i>	þəm
sum	sum	<i>some</i>	səm
sumor	sumer	1420 <i>summer</i>	səməər
swummen	swum	<i>swum</i>	swəm
slumerian	slumber	<i>slumber</i>	sləmbər
guma	gruum	<i>groom</i>	gru(u)m
cuman	cum	1424 <i>come</i>	cəm
crume	crumb	<i>crumb</i>	crəm
dumb	dumb	<i>dumb</i>	dəm
<hr/>			
ugglig N.	ugli	<i>ugly</i>	əgli
sugu	suu	1428 <i>sow</i>	sau
fugol	fuul	<i>fowl</i>	faul
<hr/>			
enucian	enoc	<i>knock</i>	noc
enucel	enucl	<i>knuckle</i>	nəcl
bucca	buc	1432 <i>buck</i>	bēc
pluccian	pluc	<i>pluck</i>	plēc
<hr/>			
wudu	? wuud (u)	<i>wood</i>	wud
<hr/>			
hnutu	nut	<i>nut</i>	nət
gutt	gut	1436 <i>gut</i>	gət

u (continued).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.
būton	but		bæt
butere	buter		bøtər
? putta N.	put		put
upp	up	1440	əp
hup	hip		hip
sūpan	sup		səp
cuppa	cup		cəp

ū.

hū	huu	1444	how	hau
þū	þuu		thou	þau
nū	nuu		now	nau
cū	cuu		cow	cau
brū	bruu	1448	brow	brau
ūre	uur		our	auər
sūr	suur		sour	sauər
scūr	shuuer		shower	shauər
būr	buuer	1452	bower	bauər
gebūr	(buur)		boor	buər
(neāh)gebūr	(neih)buur		(neigh)bour	(néi)bər
ūle	uul		owl	aul
fūl	fuul	1456	foul	faul
sūþ	suuþ		south	sauþ
mūþ	muuþ		mouth	mauþ
uncūþ	uncuuþ		uncouth	əncuuþ
cūþe	cuu(ī)d	1460	could	cud
būþ N.	(buuþ)		booth	buuþ
ūs (under u)				
hūs	huus		house	haus
lūs	luus		louse	laus
þūsēnd	þuuzēnd	1464	thousand	þauzənd
mūs	muus		mouse	maus

scūfan (under u)

dūfe (under u)

h; r, hr, l, hl; þ, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

ū (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.
onbūfan (<i>under u</i>)			
scūnian (<i>under u</i>)			
dūn	duun	<i>down</i>	daun
tūn	tuun	<i>town</i>	taun
brūn	bruun	1468 <i>brown</i>	braun
þūma (<i>under u</i>)			
rūm	(ruum)	<i>room</i>	ruum
rūg	ruuh	<i>rough</i>	rəf
būgan	buu	<i>bow</i>	bau
sūcan (<i>under u</i>)			
brūcan	(bruuc)	1472 <i>brook</i>	bruc
ūder (<i>under u</i>)			
hlūd	luud	<i>loud</i>	laud
scrūd	shruud	<i>shroud</i>	shraud
crūd	cruud	<i>crowd</i>	craud
clūd	cluud	1476 <i>cloud</i>	claud
ūt	nut	<i>out</i>	aut
ūterlice (<i>under u</i>)			
lūtan	luut	<i>lout</i> (subst.)	laut
clūt	cluut	<i>clout</i>	claut
būtan (<i>under u</i>)			
prūt	pruud	1480 <i>proud</i>	praud
sūpan (<i>under u</i>)			

ö.

cohh(ett)an	còuh	<i>cough</i>	cof
sōhte	sòuht	<i>sought</i>	sòòt
wrohte	wròuht	<i>wrought</i>	ròòt
dohtor	dauhter	1484 <i>daughter</i>	dòòtər
bohte	bòuht	<i>bought</i>	bòòt
brohte	bròuht	<i>brought</i>	bròòt

a(æ ea ei), i, é(eo), è, é, æ, eā, eō, u, o.

6 (continued).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.
for beforan borian	for befòòr bòòr	1488	<i>for</i> <i>before</i> <i>bore</i>
woruld	wurld		<i>world</i> wæld
forð norð morðor	forþ norþ murðer	1492	<i>forth</i> <i>north</i> <i>murder (th)</i>
hors forst (<i>under st</i>) dorste borsten	hors durst burst	1496	<i>horse</i> <i>durst</i> <i>burst</i>
horn forlor(e)n þorn swor(e)n scor(e)n mor(ge)ning corn tor(e)n bor(e)n	horn forlorn þorn sworn shorn morning corn torn born	1500 1504	<i>horn</i> <i>forlorn</i> <i>thorn</i> <i>sworn</i> <i>shorn</i> <i>morning</i> <i>corn</i> <i>torn</i> <i>born(e)</i>
storm forma	storm former		<i>storm</i> <i>former</i>
sorg morgen borgian	soru moru boru	1508	<i>sorrow</i> <i>morrow</i> <i>borrow</i>
store	store		<i>stork</i> stòæc
hord word ford bord	hòòrd word ford bòòrd	1512	<i>hoard</i> <i>word</i> <i>ford</i> <i>board</i>
scort port	short port	1516	<i>short</i> <i>port</i>
hol holh	hòòl holu		<i>hole</i> <i>hollow</i>

h; r, hr, l, hl; ð, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

ú (continued).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.
holegn	holi	1520	holi
þol	þòl		þóul
swollen	swolen		swóuln
scolu	shòl		shóul
stolen	stòlen	1524	stóuln
fola	fòl		fóul
col	còl		cóul
cnoll	cnol		nóul
dol	dul	1528	dəl
toll	tol		tóul
bolla	bóul		bóul
bolster	bolster		bóulster
folgian	folu	1532	folou
wolcen	welcin		welcin
folc	folc		fóuc
scolde	? shuuld		shud
molde	mould	1536	móuld
wolde	? wuuld		wud
gold	gold		góuld
bolt	bolt		bóult
froða N.	froþ	1540	frò(ò)þ
moðe	moþ		mò(ò)þ
broð	broþ		bròðþ
hose	hòz		hóuz
*gefrosen	fròzen	1544	fróuzn
nosu	nòz		nóuz
*gecosen	chòzen		chóuzn
cross N.	cross		eros
blōsma	blosom	1548	blosəm
gōsling	gosling		gozling
frost	frost		frost
ðf	{ ov		ov
	{ of	1552	of
ofen	{ ?òoven		əvn

a(æ ea ei), i, é(eo), è, ē, æ, eā, eō, u, o.

6 (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.
offrian	ofer		ofər
ofer	òòver		óuər
scofel	? shòòvel	1556	shəvl
clofen	clòòven		clóuvn
oft	oft		oft
loft N.	loft		loft
sōfte	soft	1560	soft
lòng	long		long
pròng	prong		prong
pwòng	pong		pong
sòng (<i>subs.</i>)	song	1564	song
stròng	strong		strong
wròng	wrong		wrong
mòngere	monger (u)		məngər
òngemòng	among (u)	1568	əməng
tònge	tongz		tongz
òn	on		on
bònd	bond		bond
fròm	from	1572	from
wòm̃b	(wóómb)		wuum
còm̃b	còòmb		cóum
froega	frog		frog
trog	trouh	1576	tròf
boga	bou		bóu
flog(e)n	floun		flóun
locc	loc		loc
socc	soc	1580	soc
smoce	smoc		smoc
smoca	smòðc		smóuc
stocc	stoc		stoc
*gesprocen	spòðcen	1584	spóucæn
flocc	floc		floc
geoc	yòðc		yóuc

h; r, hr, l, hl; ʃ, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

o (continued).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.
cocc	coc		coc
coccel	coel	1588	coel
croce	croc		croc(eri)
cnocian	cnoc		noc
brocen	bròccen		bròucæn
oxa	ox	1592	ox
fox	fox		fox
rōd	rod		rod
soden	soden		sodn
gescōd	shod	1596	shod
fōdor	foder		fodər
god	god		god
codd	cod		cod
troden	troden	1600	trodn
bodian	bòd		bóud
bodig	bodi		bodi
rotian	rot		rot
hlot	lot	1604	lot
þrotu	þròt		þróut
(ge)scot	shot		shot
scotland	scotland		scotlænd
flotian	flòt	1608	flóut
mot	mòt		móut
cot	cot		cot
enotta	cnót		not
botm	botom	1612	botəm
loppestre	lobster		lobstər
open	òopen		óupən
hoppian	hop		hop
hopa	hòop	1616	hóup
sop	sop		sop
stoppian	stop		stop
(ätor)coppa	cob(web)		cob(web)
cropp	crop	1620	crop
dropa	drop		drop
topp	top		top

Ō.

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.
seō	(shóó)		shuu
dō	(dóó)	1624	duu
tō	tóó		tuu
tōh	tuuh		təf
? sōhte, etc. (<i>under o</i>)			
hōr	(w)hòòr		hòòr
swōr	swòòr	1628	swòòr
flōr	flóór		flòòr
mōr	móór		muər
stōl	stóól		stuul
eōl	cóól	1632	cuul
tōl	tóól		tuul
ōðer	(óóðer)		əðər
sōð	sóóp		suup
*smōðe	smóóð	1636	smuuð
*(hē) dōð	dóóp		dəp
tōð	tóóp		tuup
brōðor	(bróóðer)		brəðər
gōs	góós	1640	guns
gōsling (<i>under o</i>)			
bōsm	(bóózəm)		buzəm
blōsma (<i>under o</i>)			
hrōst	róóst		ruust
mōste	must		məst
rōwan	róu	1644	róu
hlōwan	lóu		lóu
flōwan	flóu		flóu
grōwan	gróu		gróu
blōwan	blóu	1648	blóu
hōf (<i>pret.</i>)	(hóóv)		hóuv
hōf (<i>subs.</i>)	hóóf		huuf
behōfian	(behóóv)		behuuv (óu)
grōf (<i>subs.</i>)	gróóv	1652	gruuv
glōf	(glóóv)		gləv

h; r, hr, l, hl; ð, s, w, hw, f; ng, n, m; g, c, d, t, b, p.

Ō (continued).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.
sōfte (<i>under o</i>)			
sōna	sóón		suun
spōn N. ?	spóón		spuun
nōn	nóón	1656	nuun
mōna	móón		muun
mōnað	(móóneþ)		mænþ
mōnandæg	(móóndai)		mændi
gedōn	(dóón)	1660	dæn
bōn N.	bóón		buun
gōma	gum		gæm
glōm	glóóm		gluum
dōm	dóóm	1664	duum
brōm	bróóm		bruum
blōma	blóóm		bluum
slōg	sleu		sluu
wōgian	wóó	1668	wuu
genōg	enuuh		enəf
drōg	dreu		druu
bōg	buuh		bau
plōg N.	pluuuh	1672	plau
hōc	hóóc		huc
hrōc	róóc		ruc
lōcian	lóóc		luc
scōc	shóóc	1676	shuc
wōc	(awóóc)		əwóuc
cōc	cóóc		cuc
crōc N.	cróóc		cruc
tōc	tóóc	1680	tue
bōc	bóóc		buc
brōc	bróóc		bruc
hōd	hóód		hud
rōd	róód	1684	ruud
	rod		rod
gescōd (<i>under o</i>)			
stōd	stóód		stud
fōda	fóód		fuud
fōdor (<i>under o</i>)			
flōd	flóód	1688	flæd
mōd	móód		muud

ð (continued).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.
mōdor	(móóðer)		mæðer
gōd	góód		gud
blōd	blóód	1692	bləd
brōd	bróód		bruud
wōdnesdæg	wednesdai		we(d)nzdɪ
rōt N.	róót		ruut
fōt	fóót	1696	fut
bōt	bóót		buut
hwōpan	whóóp		huup

ADDENDA.

mearg	maru		marrow	mærou
cealc	chalc	1700	chalk	chòòc
hæsel	haazel		hazel	héizl
sceanc	shanc		shank	shænc
wæg(e)n	wagon		waggon	wægən
	wain	1704	wain	wéin
dragen	draun		drawn	dròòn
? gagn	gain		gain	géin
sæce	sac		sack	sæc
sleac	slac	1708	slack	slæc
wæcce	wach		watch	woch
gemaca	maat		mate	méit
eaxl	axl		axle	æxl
lator	later	1712	latter	lætər
gabb N.	gab		gab	gæb
tapor	taaper		taper	téipər
ār (<i>metal</i>)	òòr		ore	òòr
hālig dæg	? hòòlidaj	1716	holiday	holidi
rāw	ròòu		row	róu
*enāwlæcan	enòòulej		knowledge(sbst.)	nolej
òn ān	anon		anon	ənon

ADDENDA (*continued*).

OLD.	MIDDLE.		MODERN.	
wrist hiw skipta N. wringan slipor	wrist heu shift wring sliperi	1720 1724	wrist hue (<i>hew</i>) shift wring slippery	rist hyuu shift ring sliperi
hwīnan	whiīn		whine	whain
cyrnel sýpan	cernel sip		kernel sip	cænel sip
fēðer becwéðan wést weocce rædels gemēted	fèèðer becwèèð west wic ridl met	1728 1732	feather bequeathe west wick riddle met	feðar becwiið west wic ridl met
stèrne rest wrèncan wrænna twèntig	stern rest wrench wren twenti	 1736	stern rest wrench wren twenti	stænn ræst rench ren twenti
hēhðo stēran cwēn	heiht stéér cwèèn	 1740	height steer quean	hait stiar cwiin
? leās þreātian	lóós þrèèt		loose threat	luus þret
preōst seōc	(préést) sic	1744	priest sick	priist sic
þohte colt fōstor	þòuh̄t colt foster	 1748	thought colt foster	þòòt cóult fostær
hrōf	róóf		roof	ruuf
þus húsping N. suncen skūm	ðus hustingz sunc scum	 1752	thus hustings sunk skum	ðas hæstingz sænc scæm

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SUPPLEMENTARY LISTS OF IRREGULARITIES.

MIDDLE PERIOD.

In the following words *æ* and *ea* have become *e* instead of the regular *a*: *gèer* (gear), *èèrn* (earn), *fèrn*, *bèèrd* (beard); *elf*, *belch*; *weðer*, *togedèr*; *les*, *nes*, *lest*, *lèèst* (least), *gest* (guest); *ðen*, *when*; *emet*, *hemp*; *wrec*, *pebl*.

It is clear from these exceptional forms that the Old English *æ* was quite lost after the Transition period; as we see, it was either changed into *a*, or else mispronounced as *è*, just as it would be in the mouth of a foreigner.

The lengthening before *r* in *gèer*, *èèrn* and *bèèrd* has many parallels, and in the case of *bèèrd* is confirmed by the Modern *biəd*. The present form *ærn*, however, points rather to *ern*, with a short vowel. The lengthening in *lèèst*, although anomalous, is supported by *yèèst* from *yest*=*gist*, by the retention of *òò*=*ā* in *mòòst*, etc., and perhaps by *eriist* (see note on 518, below).

a for *ò* in non-preterites (p. 54): *angl*, *hang*, *fang*, *gang*, *bang*.

ò for *a*: *on*, *bond*, *from*, *womb*, *comb*.

ei preserved: *ei* (eye), *ŷei* (they), *whei*, *grei*, *cei* (key); *weih* (weigh), *neih*, *neih*(*buur*), *eiht* (eight), *heiht*; *ŷeir*; *eiŷer*; *rein*(*déér*).

The Modern forms point mostly to *ai*. *ai* (eye) however comes not from *ai=ei*, but from *ii*. *cii* (key) is altogether anomalous; so also are the two pronunciations *iŷer* and *aiŷar* (either), while the obsolete *éiŷar* is regular.

i (*y*) has become *e*, 1) regularly after *y*-consonant: *yel*; *yes*, *yèèst*, *yesterdai*; *yet*. 2) in other words: *her*, *herd* (shepherd); *neŷer*; *ŷèèz* (these); *èèvil*; *flejð* (fledged).

In *snèèc* and *rèèp* (sneak, reap) a highly anomalous change of *ii* into *èè* seems to have taken place.

é, *eo* become *i*: *liht*, *fiht*; *mirþ* (but *meri*), *birch*; *chil*, *silver*, *sile*, *mile*, *fild*; *sister*; *ric*, *wic*; *cripl*, *hip* (=berry), *dip* (?).

è becomes *i*: *smirc*, *gird*(*l*); *sili*, *cil*, *wiild*; *linc*; *rid*; *nib*.

é becomes *a*, 1) before *r*: *star*, *far*, *tar*, *darling* (from *deörling*), *farŷing*, *carv*, *starv*, *barm*, *dwarf*, *baru*, *darc*, *harc*, *hart*. 2) in: *swalu*, *brambl*.

è becomes *a*, 1) before *r*: *mar*, *maar*, *barlei*, *marsh*, *haru*, *barn*, *yard*. 2) in: *talv* (?); *wasp*; *handi* (?), *aach*.

é, *eo* become *u*: *churl*, *burst*, *run*, *spurn*, *burn*; *hung*.

ē, *eō* become *ii*: *ii* (from *eāge*), *lii* (from *leōgan*), *slii*, *flii*, *tii*; *hiih*, *þiih*, *niih*; *diiv* (?).

ē becomes *èè* before *r*: *hèèr*, *wèèri*, *hèèren*, *hèèrd*.

In the case of the first two words there is sixteenth century authority for the *éé*-sound also.

ē=éé becomes *èè*, 1) before *r* in all words except the doubtful *béér*. 2) in: *mèèl*; *brèèŷ*; *èèven* (evening); *þrèèd*, *drèèd*; *blèèt*; *wèèpon*.

Three of these, however, are made doubtful by the Modern *þred*, *dred*, *wepon*, which point rather to a shortening of the long vowel at an early period.

eō becomes *èè*: *dèèr*, *drèèri*; *brèèst*, *clèèv* (cleave).

There is Early Modern authority for *déér* as well as *dèèr*. *brèèst*, again, is uncertain on account of the Modern *brest*.

eō becomes *óó*: *lóóz*, *chóóz*; *shóót*.

Compare *chòóz* from *ceās* (p. 35), and *ŷòòuh* from *þeāh* (note to 1228, below).

eō becomes *u(u)*: *yuu*; *ruuh*; *yuuþ*; *yung*.¹

o becomes *u*: *murðer*, *durst*, *burst* (partic.); *dul*; *amung*, *munger*.

ō becomes *u(u)*: *yuu* (you); *tuuh* (tough); *yuuþ*; *yung*.

The following remarks on the diphthongs are intended to supplement those on pp. 52, 53, above.

Diphthongs are formed not only by *g* (*gh*), but also by medial and final *h* (= *kh*), but only with back vowels, the new element being always *u* (never *i*), which I have already explained (note p. 80) as a mere *secondary* formation, due to the labialization of the following *h*=*kh*: the *h* is consequently not absorbed, as is the case with *g*.

The following are examples of genuine *h*-diphthongs, in which *h* is original, not a later modification of *g* (p. 79):

- 1) from *ah*: *lauh*, *lauhter*, *slauhter*, *fauht*, *tauht*. And perhaps *sau* from *seah*, although the omission of the *h* makes it more probable that it arises from some confusion with the plural *sāwon*.
- 2) from *āh*: *ðouht* (ought).
not points to *nòðuht*=*nāht*; *nauht*, however, to a shortened *naht*.
- 3) from *oh*: *souht*, *bouht*, *bouht*.

For *dauhter* see note to 1484.

In the following words *g* has been anomalously preserved, instead of being diphthongized: *wag*, *wagon* (but also *wain*), *drag* (but also *drau*), *twig*.

A few general remarks on Middle (or rather Early Modern) English orthography remain to be made.

It is, as we have seen, mainly traditional, but with certain purely phonetic modifications. The first divergence of sound and symbol was the retention of *ee* and *oo* to denote the new sounds *ii* and *uu*, while original *ii* and *uu* themselves changed in the direction of *ai* and *au*. The introduction of *ea* and *oa* to denote the true *ee* and *oo* sound was, on the other hand, a strictly phonetic innovation.

ee and *oo* were partly phonetic, partly historical signs—

¹ I have repeated most of these words again under *ō*.

they denoted the sounds *ii* and *uu*, and implied at the same time an earlier *éé* and *óó*. But in a few cases it is interesting to observe that they were employed purely phonetically, *against* tradition. An example is afforded by the word written *room*, the Old English *rūm*. In the fourteenth century this word was spelt with the French *ou*=*uu*; but in the Early Modern period the regular *roum*, corresponding with *down*, etc., was abandoned, probably because it would, like *down*, have suggested the regular diphthong *ou* or *au*, into which the other old *uus* changed, and the word was written phonetically *room*, without at all implying a Middle English *róóm*. Other examples are *door* and *groom*, in which *oo* may perhaps represent short *u*, which it almost certainly does in *wool* and *wood*. The use of single *o* to denote short *u* is a well-known feature of Middle English. It occurs chiefly in combination with *w*, *u*(=*v*), *n*, and *m*, and has been explained (first, I believe, by Dr. J. A. H. Murray) as a purely graphic substitute for *u* in combination with letters of similar formation, to avoid confusion. But such a spelling as *wod* would have suggested an *ò*-sound, as in *god*. To avoid all possibility of this pronunciation, the *o* was therefore doubled. This spelling is only inaccurate as regards the quantity; it is, therefore, difficult to see why it was not adopted in the words written *love*, *come*, etc., which ought by their spelling to indicate the pronunciations *lóóv*, *cóóm*, corresponding to Middle English *lòðv*, *còòm*!

Similar fluctuation between the phonetic and historical principle is shown in many words written with the digraph *ie*. *ie* is in itself nothing but a substitute for *ii*, which from purely graphic reasons was never doubled, as being liable to confusion with *u*. The sound of *ii* was, of course, in most cases expressed by *ee*. There were, however, a few words which preserved their Middle English *ii*-sound throughout the Early Modern period (and up to the present day) as well. Such a word as *fiild*, for instance, if written in the fourteenth century spelling *fild*, would have been read, on the analogy of *wild*, *child*, etc., as *féild*, or *fóild*, while to have written *feeld* would have been a violation of the etymological prin-

ciple. Both history and sound were saved by the adoption of *ie*. The following list of *ie*-words will show that, although *ie* was sometimes used finally to denote the diphthongized sound, it invariably denoted the simple *ii* medially: *hie*, *lie*, *die*, *tie*; *wicrd*; *yield*, *shield*, *wield*, *field*; *priest*; *believe*, *sieve*; *lief*, *thief*; *fiend*, *friend*.

In *sieve* we have an instance of *ie* used to denote a short vowel (compare *wool*, etc.); possibly the *ie* was employed simply to prevent the combination *siue*, which would have been graphically ambiguous.

MODERN PERIOD.

The general rule which governs the retention and modification of *a* before sibilants seems to be that it is retained before breath consonants, but changed to *æ* before voice consonants. Thus we find *æz*, *hæz*, *hæv* contrasting with *a(a)s*, *gras*, *asc*, *last*, *staf*, *after*. The change to *æ* takes place, however, before *sh*, although voiceless: *æsh*, *ræsh*. Also in *æspen*.¹ In the same way *a* followed by *n* and a voice consonant becomes *æ*, as in *ænd*, *hænd*, *æwīl*; but if the consonant which comes after the *n* is voiceless, there is no change, as in *ansər*, *plant*, *ant*. These laws do not apply to *a* when followed by the other nasals, in which cases it is always changed: *sænc*, *drænc*; *dæmp*.

ii has been preserved in the following words: *mii*: *shiiər*, *wiəd*; *shiild*, *wiild*, *fiild*, *yiild*; *wiivəl*, *wiic*.

Of these words the first only has *i* in O.E.; all the others are Middle E. lengthenings of *i*, corresponding sometimes to original *i*, sometimes to *è* or *é*. It is worthy of note that all of them are written with *ie*, except *shiiər*, *wiivəl*, and *wiik*, which are written *shire*, *weevil*, *week*. The last two spellings with *e*, which go back as far as the fourteenth century, seem to indicate some confusion with *éé*, although we would rather expect the broad *èè*, as in *snèèc* for *sniic*. It is, however,

¹ Note, however, that *aspen* is a dissyllable, with a liquid in the second syllable: but we have *after*, not *æfter*.

possible that these *ees* may be simply Early Modern phonetic spellings, like *room*=*ruum*.

èè has become *éi* (instead of *ii*): *yéi* (yea); *bréic*; *gréit*.¹

u has been preserved, 1) after *w*: *wuman*, *wul*, *wulf*, *wuund*, *wud* (not in *wänder*). 2) in other cases: *ful*, *bul(æ)*; *grum*.

uu has been preserved (sometimes with shortening): *buur* (boor); *æncuup*; *cud* (could); *ruum* (room); *bruc* (brook).

óó has been preserved: *hóuv*; *æwóuc*.

óó has become *ə*: *əðer*, *məðer*, *dəþ*, *brəðer*; *gləv*; *mənþ*, *məndi*, *dən*; *fləd*, *bləd*.

For *əvn* and *shəvt* see notes to 1553 and 1556.

The series of changes is clearly *óó*, *uu*, *u*, *ə*; the second and third belonging to the Early Modern, the last to the Transition period. The anomalous spelling *other*, etc., instead of *oother*, was probably meant to indicate the shortness of the *u*=*óó*. To infer from it a Middle E. *òððer* would be as unreasonable as in the case of *love*, *come*, etc., where the *u* was certainly never lengthened or lowered to *òð*.

Under the head of consonant influence the loss of the initial element of the diphthong *iuu* or *yuu* ought to have been noticed in its place. It takes place after *r* and *l*, but not after stops, nasals, and sibilants: *ruu*, *gruu*, *cruu*; *fluu*, *clu*; also in *chuu* (*lyuud* is an exception), *yuu*; *hyuu*; *þyuu*; *fyuu*; *nyuu*; *dyuu*; *styuu*; *spyuu*.

The development of the diphthong *óu* out of *ol* in the combination *olc* ought also to have been noticed; it occurs in two words: *yóuc* (yolk), *fóuc* (folk).

Also the change of *a* into *ò* before *lt*, in *holt*, *solt*, *molt*.

NOTES TO THE WORD LISTS.

No. 3. *eiht*. A solitary exception to the general change of *aht* into *auht*. There is Early Mod. evidence for *aiht* as well as *eiht*.

¹ For the preservation of *èè* before *r* in *bèèr*, etc., see p. 68.

6. *fauht*. Salesbury writes *fauht*, and the spelling *fought* seems merely due to confusion with the partic. *fouhten* from O.E. *gefohten*.

15. *näru*, etc. These words are not derived direct from the nom. *nearu*, but from the oblique cases, *nearwe* becoming *nearw*, whence *naru*, by weakening of the final *w*. *caru*, on the other hand, which has *care* in the oblique cases, naturally lengthens its vowel—*caar*.

25. *gèèr* from *gearwa* is only an apparent exception to the rule just stated, the long vowel being probably due to the *r*. The loss of the *w* is, however, anomalous.

58. *shæl*, for *shòòl*. An isolated exception to the development of *au* before *l*.

68. *ceallian*. This word occurs in the poem of *Byrhtnoð*; it may therefore possibly be English, although Norse influence in so late a work is quite possible.

71. *baal*. Exceptionally taken from the nom. *bealu*, not from the oblique *bealh-* (see note to 15, above).

81. *psalm*. The *p* is, of course, purely pedantic; the word may, however, be French.

84. *taelg*. The vowel is doubtful, and I have given the word again under *è* (992).

89, 91. *alder*, *alderman*. The exceptional retention of the *a* may be due to the liquid in the second syllable: compare the short *i* in *wunder*, etc., as contrasted with *wuund* (p. 47).

132. *castel*. This word, although of French origin, was in familiar use in English many years before the Conquest.

140. *hauc*, from *havoc* through *havec*, *haw(e)c*. The converse change has taken place in *waav* (1170); the series was probably *wæg*, *waaw*, *waav*.

150. *clòòver*. The only parallel is *lòòd* from *hladan* (298).

168, 169. *monger*, *among*. The *u*-sound, for which there is Early Middle authority, as well as for *o*, is anomalous.

181. *eni*. The Early form (or one of them) was *ani* with short *a* (as Gill expressly states); the present form *eni* may therefore be explained as an irregular variation of the normal *æni*.

182. *hemp* seems to point to an O.E. *hænep* (cp. 187).

187, 193. *then, when*. These clearly arise from the Late O.E. *ſæne* and *whænne* with abnormal modification of *a* before nasals (p. 26).

229. *swæm* for *swòm*. *m* seems to bar the retention of *a* for *æ* in the same way in the word *dæmp* (p. 150).

246, 248. *slai, flai*, instead of *slau, flau*. The subs. *slège* may have helped the former irregularity.

253. *daun*. *dag(e)nian* ought to give *dain*, but the analogy of the regular Middle E. *dawes* from *dagas* helped.

270. *acorn*. The *o* is probably inorganic, the result of association with *corn*.

298. *lòd*. cp. *clòðer* (150).

303. *shaad* for *sceadw-*. cp. *baal*, 71.

324. *water*. The Modern *wòðter*, with its long vowel, is anomalous.

331. *got*, inorganic, from the analogy of the partic. **begoten*.

343. *pebl*, from *pæpol* or *pæbol* (?).

344. *ai*. The modern form is a solitary case of retention of the diphthong.

350. *rein*. The older spelling *raindeer* should have been given.

352. The Middle *stèèc* and its change into the Modern *stéic* are both anomalous.

353. *weak* may possibly come from the O.E. *wāc*, through *wāec*.

355. *dii*, from *dey(ja)*; cp. *ii* for *ei* from *eāge* (1121).

357. *lā*. If the Modern *lòð* (written *law*) really corresponds to the O.E. *lā*, we have a second instance (besides *bròðd*) of the retention of *òð*. *treysta* (770) should have been referred to here.

372. *haal*. A solitary and dubious instance of the retention of O.E. *ā*.

389. *nothing*. The Modern *ə* is probably due to the analogy of *wən* (415) and *nən*.

396. *whòðz*, read *whóóðz*. The Modern *uu* is better evidence than the spelling *whose*.

400. *þau*, points seemingly to an O.E. *þāwan*.

415. *wən*. The most probable explanation is that *wə* is

simply the Early Modern *óó* with its labial and guttural elements pronounced successively instead of simultaneously (p. 14).

418. *nən*. Not a case of *òò* becoming *ə* through *uu* and *u*, but simply due to the analogy of *wən*.

429. *clami*. The O.E. *ā* in this word must have been shortened at a very early period, else we should have had *clomi*.

440. *-hóód*. A solitary instance of *òò* becoming *óó* in Middle English (except after *w*).

447. *bròòd*. Retention of Middle English *òò* from *ā*.

491. *gild*. Exceptional retention of short *i*. cp. *gild* (from *gyldan*) and *byld* (760, 761).

518. *criist*. The *ch* is, of course, no evidence; but the word may be French. Compare, however, *lèèst* (126) and *yèèst* (520), with the same lengthening before *st*.

528. *teuzdai*. The spelling *ue* indicates the later simplification *yy*.

534. *wüvil*. It is uncertain whether the spelling *ee* indicates a Middle English *wéévil* or is purely phonetic.

604. *island*. The *s* is purely etymological and erroneous.

707. *rich*. May be French.

760, 761. *gild*, *byld*. Exceptional retention of the short vowels. There is, however, Early Middle authority for *byyll* as well.

796. *luck*. The word *lukka* in Icelandic is said to be of late introduction, otherwise it would fit in very well. I have formed *lycci* from the Danish *lykke*.

847. *þræsh* may be a modification of *þresh*, as *eni* seems to be of *æni* (181).

860. *iceberg*. Probably foreign (Dutch?).

868. *swurd*; or from *u* (1365).

870. *hèèrt* and *hart* are both independent modifications of *hèrt*.

881. *cwail*. Compare *hair* (1157) from *hǣr*. The history of these two spellings requires investigation: it is possible that the *ai* is merely a comparatively late representation of the sound *èè*, introduced after the simplification of the diphthong *ai* (p. 65).

934. *þaan* for *þain*. Here, again, the spelling may be late. The Modern *þéin* would correspond to either *þaan* or *þain*.

956. *nebb*. The vowel is more probably *è* (1087).

1005. *wasþ* points rather to *wasþ* than *wèþ*; both forms may, however, have existed.

1017. *wæng* (551) should come in here.

1036. *clenz*. The spelling *ea* certainly points to *clèenz*, but the Modern form is against it, and it is possible that the *ea* may be a purely etymological reminiscence.

1038. *handi* may be merely a late derivative of *hand*.

1052. *temz*. The spelling is evidently a pedantic adaptation of the Latin *T(h)amesis*.

1054. *au*. This form (instead of *ai*) is very anomalous. The most probable explanation is that *ège* was made into *æge* by the same confusion between the two vowels as in *wèþ* (1005), and that *æge* then became *age*, which was irregularly diphthongized into *au(e)*.

1057. *hej* points rather to *hècg* than *hège*, which would give *hai*.

1058, 1060. *lai*, *sai*. These forms (instead of *lej*, *sej*) point rather to some such inflection as the imperative *lège*, *sège*.

1064. *aach*. Another case of confusion between *è* and *æ*—*ècc*, *æce*, *ace*, *aach*.

1105. *cnēla*. The Icelandic expression is *knéfalla*, but *knæle* is found in Danish.

1135. *read*. I have given the word again under *èè* (1218), as it is quite uncertain whether it had *ē* or *æ* in O.E.: the assumed derivation from *rōdjan* favours the former, the MSS. usage the latter.

1157. *hair*. cp. *cwail* (881).

1171. *weih*, etc. Anomalous retention of *gh* in the form of *h*.

1228. *ʒòðuh*. The stages were probably *ʒeaah*, *ʒaah*, *ʒòðh*, *ʒòðuh*.

1239. *rau*. Apparently from an intermediate *hreaū*; cp. *þau* (400).

1241, 1242. *slòou, shòou*. The same dropping of the first element of O.E. *ea*, as in the previous word. All these forms are important, as showing that the second element of the diphthong had the accent and was long.

1244. *strau*. cp. 1239.

1276. *chapman*. Points to a shortened *ea*, which naturally passed into *a*.

1292. *darling*. From shortened *eo* — *deōr-*, *deor-*, *der-*, *dar-ling*.

1295. *fourþ*. Probably formed directly from the Middle English *four* itself.

1306. *yuu*. Here the first element of the diphthong is consonantized, and the final *w* thrown off, as in *trée, cnée*, etc.

1333. *friend*. The Modern *frend* points to a very early shortened form, which probably co-existed with the older *fréend*.

1353, 1363. *thorough, borough*. The Modern *o* points to *þuruh* and *buruh*, and it is possible that the *o* is a mere graphic substitute for *u*.

1370. *shóulder* for *shaulder*. The most probable explanation is that *shuulder* became *shóulder* in the Early Modern period, and the *óu* became *óóu* before *ld*, and so was confounded with the *óóu* in *flóóu*, etc.

1380. *eleven*. Agrees rather with the other form *endleofon*.

1460. *cuuld*. The *l* is, of course, due to the analogy of *wuuld* and *shuuld*.

1470. *ruuh* may possibly come from *hreōh* (1288).

1484. *dauhter*. The anomalous *au* may be due to Norse influence, as Danish has *datter* (Icelandic *dóttir*): I do not know, however, that the Danish form is of any antiquity.

1519. *hohu*. The final *h* of *holh* seems to have been first vocalized (and labialized), and then merged into *w*, which, as in *narw*, etc., was weakened into *u*.

1521. *swóuln*, etc. The development of *ou* in the combinations *ol, old*, is Early Modern, and should have been mentioned (p. 61). The phoneticians make the *o* long, writing *tooul* (= *toll*), etc. Its preservation in the present English is, therefore, quite regular, as in *flóu* from Middle E. *flóóu*, etc.

1530. *boul*. Here, again, the sixteenth century authorities write *booul*. The spelling *bowl* is, of course, phonetic and unhistorical.

1533. *welcin*. cp. *wednesdai* (1694).

1540. *froþ*, etc. The quantity of *o* before *þ*, *s*, and *f* is very uncertain in the present English, but the longs seem to be getting the upper hand.

1553. *oven*. The Modern *ovn* points rather to *óóven* than the regular *òðven*.

1556. *shovel*. The Modern *shəvl*, again, points to an earlier *shuwl*, which may be a shortening of *shuuvel*=*shóóvel*, as was suggested in the case of *oven*. Or the form *shuvel* may be due to the analogy of the verb *shuv*=*scūfan*.

1667, 1670. *sleu*, *dreu*. The most probable explanation is that *slóóg* first became *slóóu*, and then this was confused with the numerous preterites in *eóów* (*greōw*, *eneōw*, etc.), and followed the same change into *eu*.

1694. *wednesday*. cp. *welcin* (1533).

ON THE PERIODS OF ENGLISH.

One of the most troublesome questions of English philology is that of the designation of its various stages. I have throughout this paper adopted the threefold division of Old, Middle, and Modern: it will, therefore, be necessary to say a few words in its justification.

The first question is, shall we retain the name "Anglo-Saxon" for the earliest period of our language, or discard it entirely? The great majority of English scholars are decidedly hostile to the word. They argue that it is a barbarous half-Latin compound, which, although justifiable as applied to a political confederation of Angles and Saxons, is entirely misleading when applied to the *language* spoken by these tribes, implying, as it does, that the English language before the Conquest was an actual mixture of the Anglian and Saxon dialects. The reverse was of course the case, and we consequently have to distinguish between the Anglian dialect

of Anglo-Saxon and the Saxon dialect of Anglo-Saxon.¹ The most serious objection, however, to the word Anglo-Saxon is that it conceals the unbroken development of our language, and thrusts the oldest period of our language outside the pale of our sympathies. Hence, to a great extent, the slowness with which the study of our language makes its way among the great mass of educated people in England—if people can be called educated who are ignorant of the history of their own language.

These arguments have lately been vigorously attacked by a leading English philologist—Professor March. In his able essay² he brings out the distinctive features of the two extreme periods very forcibly, and has so far done good service. At the same time, he has greatly exaggerated the difference between the two periods. Thus, in phonology, he says that Anglo-Saxon had sounds now lost in English, such as French *u*, German *ch*, and initial *wl*, *wr*, and that *i* and *û* have become diphthongs. Now any one who has read this paper with any attention will see that this part of the argument is worth very little, for all these sounds were preserved unchanged in the sixteenth century, which belongs unmistakably to the Modern period.

The well-known statement that Johnson's Dictionary contains 29,000 Romance words out of 43,500 is a great exaggeration. A large proportion of these 29,000 are words which are never used in ordinary speech or writing, very many of them are quite unknown to the majority of educated people, and not a few of them never existed in the language at all. When we speak of the proportion of Romance elements in English, we mean the English of every-day life, not of dictionaries and technical works,³ and of the two ex-

¹ If any period of our language is to be called "Anglo-Saxon," let it be the present one—as far, at least, as the literary language is concerned, which is really a mixture of Saxon and Anglian forms.

² Is there an Anglo-Saxon Language? Transactions of the American Philological Association, 1872.

³ On such one-sided grounds as these it would be easy to prove that Modern German is quite as mixed as English is. Observe the proportion of foreign and native words in the following passages, taken at random from a work published this year:

"Wieniawski, der Paganinispieler *par excellence*, zeigt sich da, wo er mit

tremes, the estimate of Turner is certainly fairer than that of Thommerel.

The real distinction between the two stages lies, of course, in the comparatively uninflectional character of the present language and its analytical reconstruction. But the old inflections are not all lost; we still have our genitive, our plurals in *s* and *en*, and in our verbs the Teutonic strong preterite is still common. And it must be borne in mind that even the Oldest English inflections are beginning to break up. There is no *s* or *r* in the nominative singular, consequently no distinction between nominative and accusative in many words, no distinction whatever of gender in the plural of adjectives, or of person in the plural of verbs. The imperfect case terminations are already eked out by prepositions—*hē ewað tō mē* is much more like English than Latin or even German.

And if we take the intermediate stages into consideration, we find it simply impossible to draw a definite line. Professor March acknowledges this, but takes refuge in a distinction between colloquial and literary speech, which last, he says, has much more definite periods. Professor March surely forgets that for scientific purposes artificial literary speech is worth nothing compared with that of every-day life, with its unconscious, unsophisticated development. It is, besides, very questionable whether there ever was an artificial literary prose language in England in early times.

While differing from Professor March on these points, I fully agree with him in protesting against the loose way in which "Old English" is made to designate any period from Alfred to Chaucer. It is quite clear that the inflectional stage of our language must have a distinctive name, and therefore that Old English must be reserved for it alone.

Schwierigkeiten und *Effecten à la Paganini* spielt, in seinem eigentlichen *Elemente*; seine *Compositionen* sind daher für *exclusive Virtuosen* nicht ohne *Interesse*. Dieselben wollen mit vollkommener *technischer Freiheit*, übermüthiger Laune und Feuer gespielt sein, vor allen die *Variationen Opus 11*—echte *musikalische Mix-pickles*."

"Ein *effectvolles Virtuosenstück* in Paganini'scher *Manier*."

"Das kurze *Thema* ist mit *poetischer Simplicität* zu spielen."

Compare these specimens with the Lord's Prayer, or a page of Swift or Defoe.

The difficulty is with the later stages. The period I call Middle English is now often called "Early English," while those who retain "Anglo-Saxon" call the intermediate periods "Semi-Saxon" or "Old English," while others make various arbitrary distinctions between "Early," "Old," and "Middle" English. It does not seem to be generally acknowledged that each of these terms really implies a definite correlative, that if we call one period "Early," we are bound to have a "Late" one, and that "Middle" implies a beginning and an end—to talk therefore of one period as "Early," as opposed to a "Middle" one, is entirely arbitrary.

Such divisions err also in being too minute. When we consider how one period merges into another, and how the language changed with much greater rapidity in the North than in the South, we see that it is necessary to start with a few broad divisions, not with impracticably minute ones.

I propose, therefore, to start with the three main divisions of *Old*, *Middle*, and *Modern*, based mainly on the inflectional characteristics of each stage. Old English is the period of *full* inflections (*nama*, *gifan*, *caru*), Middle English of *levelled* inflections (*naame*, *given*, *caare*), and Modern English of *lost* inflections (*naam*, *giv*, *caar*). We have besides two periods of *transition*, one in which *nama* and *name* exist side by side, and another in which final *e* is beginning to drop. The latter is of very little importance, the former, commonly called Semi-Saxon (a legitimate abbreviation of Semi-Anglo-Saxon), is characterized by many far-reaching changes. I propose, therefore to call the first the *Transition* period *par excellence*, distinguishing the two, when necessary, as first and second Transition, the more important one being generally called simply *Transition* or *Transition-English*.

Whenever minute divisions are wanted, *Early* and *Late* can be used—Early Old, Late Middle, Early Modern, etc. Still minuter distinctions can be made by employing *Earlier*, *Earliest*, etc., till we fall back on the century or decade.

These divisions could also be applied to the different dialect-names. Thus *Old Anglian* would be equivalent to "Anglian

dialect of Old English," *Modern Saxon*, would designate the Dorsetshire dialect, etc.

As regards the Northern dialects of the Middle period, they ought strictly to be classed as Modern, as they soon lost the final *e* entirely. But as they have all the other characteristics of the Middle period, it seems most convenient to take the dominant speech of Chaucer and Gower as our criterion.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

First of all I have a few words to say on the relation of the present essay to Mr. Ellis's great work.

As regards my obligations to Mr. Ellis, I can only say, once for all, that without his investigations this essay would never have been written. It is essentially based on his results, of which, in some places, it is little more than a summary; while I have throughout drawn largely on the enormous mass of material stored up in the "*Early English Pronunciation*."

In going over the same ground as Mr. Ellis, it is but natural that I should occasionally arrive at conclusions different from his, as, for instance, in the important question of the two *ees* and *oos* in Middle English, and in that of the preservation of short *y* in the Early Modern period.

But I have not been satisfied with merely summarizing and criticizing Mr. Ellis's views, but have also endeavoured to carry his method a step further, by combining his results with the deductions of the historical school inaugurated by Rask, and perfected by Grimm and his followers in Germany. Mr. Ellis's great achievement was to determine generally the phonetic values of the Roman alphabet in England at the different periods, and to establish the all-important principle that the Middle Age scribes wrote not by eye, but by ear, and consequently that their varying orthographic usage is a genuine criterion of their pronunciation. It has, therefore, been possible for me in the present essay to turn my attention more exclusively to the sounds themselves, and the wider

generalizations obtainable from an examination of the various changes, which generalizations can again be applied to the elucidation and confirmation of the individual changes themselves. Many of the general principles stated at the beginning of the essay are, I believe, new and original; such, for instance, as the threefold divisions of sound-changes into organic, inorganic, and imitative, the sketch of the relations between sound and symbol (general alphabetics), the determination of the laws which govern the changes of short and long vowels in the Teutonic languages, etc.

I have also added to our stock of phonetic material, both by the observations on the pronunciation of Modern English and the living Teutonic languages, and also by the full lists of Old English words with their Middle and Modern equivalents, which afford a sound basis both for testing the views I have developed, and for carrying out further investigation.

It need hardly be said that the present essay is but a meagre sketch of what would be a really adequate history of English sounds. An investigation of every dialect and period, even if only on the meagre and imperfect scale here attempted, would fill many volumes. And yet till this is done, we cannot say that the foundations of a scientific English phonology are even laid. And it is only on such investigations that a satisfactory investigation of inflection and syntax can be based.

It was, therefore, absolutely necessary for me to limit my programme as much as possible. Hence the omission of any reference to our dialects, and the comparative neglect of the Middle period. Most of my results are obtained from a direct comparison with Old and Modern English: they are, therefore, to a certain extent, only tentative. In one point they are specially defective, namely as regards the deductions drawn from our present traditional orthography. Although this orthography is, on the whole, a very faithful representation of the pronunciation of the time when it settled into its present fixity, yet there are many of its details which urgently require a more minute examination. In short, we want a thorough investigation of the orthography of the sixteenth

and seventeenth centuries, based on an examination not only of printed works, but also of manuscripts of all kinds. Such an investigation would not fail to yield valuable results.

Of the very considerable labour entailed in the present work, a large portion was expended on the lists. These I at first intended merely to consist of a certain number of examples of each change, but it proved so difficult to draw any definite line of exclusion that I determined to make them as full as possible, excluding only obsolete and doubtful words. There are a large number of words which, although of undoubted Teutonic origin, cannot be assigned to any Old English parent. Again, many Old English words given in the dictionaries without any reference, merely on the authority of Lye and Somner, are of very dubious existence. Many of them I believe to be guesses, formed by analogy from purely Modern words, while others are clearly taken from Transition texts. These I have often omitted, especially when they did not seem to offer any new points of interest. I am fully conscious of the inconsistencies and errors I have fallen into in preparing these lists, but I believe they are inevitable in a first attempt of this kind. It would have been easy to give my work a false appearance of fullness and finish, by suppressing the lists altogether; but I preferred to give them out, imperfect as they are, and rely on the indulgence of those who are alone competent to judge my work—those, namely, who have been engaged in similar initiatory investigations.

SPECIMENS OF ENGLISH DIALECTS.

I. DEVONSHIRE.

AN EXMOOR SCOLDING AND COURTSHIP.

II. WESTMORELAND.

A BRAN NEW WARK.

SPECIMENS
OF
ENGLISH DIALECTS.

I. DEVONSHIRE.
AN
EXMOOR SCOLDING AND COURTSHIP,

EDITED BY
F. T. ELWORTHY, ESQ.

II. WESTMORELAND.
A BRAN NEW WARK.

EDITED BY
THE REV. PROFESSOR SKEAT.

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INTRODUCTION TO PART I.

BY PROFESSOR SKEAT.

It has always been the intention of the ENGLISH DIALECT SOCIETY to reprint certain Selected Specimens of various dialects, in order to exhibit them, as it were, in their living state. But there were several other undertakings of more immediate importance, such as the Bibliographical List in particular, which required more immediate attention.

After the completion of the Bibliographical List, the reprinting of twenty-two Glossaries, and the issuing of various other publications which are, we hope, of sufficient interest and importance to be placed before the members of the Society, it was to be expected that a wish should be expressed for the reprinting of specimens of the living speech. In order to meet this want in some degree, the present Part has been undertaken. The two pieces which have first received attention are sufficiently well-known and have a certain admitted value of their own, such as to render them worthy of being issued to members at some time or other, and they are accordingly issued now.

It is quite true that the 'Exmoor Scolding and Courtship' have been reprinted over and over again, and may, in fact, be bought in a cheap form at a railway book-stall, but the present reprint is very different from those that have preceded it. The editor has not only given us a glossic version, but has added numerous notes, all of much value and interest. We are now told whether the writer is at any moment using the true dialect of the peasantry or whether he is indulging in literary English, and even inventing, here and there, forms such as do not accord with the living speech at all. Thus the first of our Specimens is issued under very favourable circumstances, and cannot but prove extremely useful as an authoritative book of reference. The Scolding and Courtship were evidently written, in the first instance, merely to amuse; but, after the lapse of more than a century, during which time they have been reprinted at least a score of times, they now serve a more useful purpose as specimens

which, notwithstanding certain faults, possess a permanent philological interest; particularly in the number of words and grammatical forms which, though common in English of a much earlier date, are now obsolete in literary English, but are preserved in these dialogues, and are still living in the spoken dialect.

Of 'The Bran New Wark' it is not necessary to say much. It is not exactly in the spoken dialect, but rather a piece of literary English abounding in the use of provincial words, written by one who was familiar with the living speech. Instead of being an accessible book, like the preceding, it is very scarce, which was an additional reason for reprinting it. I have pointed out that there were really *two* editions of it, which differ but slightly. The various readings are given at p. 209. The construction of the Glossarial Index was rather tedious than difficult. I have shewn that most of the words used by the author are such as are explained in the very first glossary reprinted by the Society, and that there are grounds for believing that we thus possess what are, in fact, the author's own explanations. As to one or two words, such as *prickings* and *flushcocks*, I had a little difficulty; but on submitting the proof-sheets to Mr. W. Jackson, of Fleatham House, Carnforth, these words were promptly and definitely solved, and I beg leave to express my thanks for this timely assistance. To make quite sure, Mr. Jackson took the trouble to send me a 'flushcock' and a 'sieve' by post; and, on submitting these to the inspection of Mr. Britten, he at once pronounced them to be *Juncus lamprocarpus* and *Juncus effusus*: a result which is highly satisfactory.

It is hardly possible to say when the present series of reprints will be continued. It is easy, on the one hand, to say that 'more ought to be done;' but experience shews, on the other hand, that it is by no means easy to find editors who will give us their time and take sufficient pains; whilst it is at the same time undesirable that the supervision of the reprints should be lightly taken in hand and perfunctorily performed. If some of our members who are anxious to see more of these reprints, and who have the necessary knowledge, will offer their services as editors whilst indicating specimens which are worth reprinting, they will do the Society a great service. Otherwise suggestions as to what is wanted rather tend to embarrassment than afford hearty and genuine help.

I.
DEVONSHIRE.

THE EXMOOR SCOLDING

AND

COURTSHIP

(TWO DIALOGUES OF THE BEGINNING OF THE XVIII. CENTURY);

ALSO

THE SOMERSETSHIRE MAN'S COMPLAINT

(A POEM OF A FULL CENTURY EARLIER).

THE ORIGINAL TEXTS EDITED, COLLATED, AND ARRANGED, WITH A COMPLETE
TRANSCRIPT IN GLOSSIC, THE VOCABULARY ENLARGED, AND THE
WHOLE ILLUSTRATED WITH COPIOUS NOTES, BY

FREDERIC THOMAS ELWORTHY,

MEMBER OF COUNCIL OF THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

THE great value to students of any true specimens of South-Western English Dialects consists in the fact that they are the living descendants of what was once the literary and courtly language of England. From the time of Alfred or earlier, until after the Norman Conquest, for a period of some two hundred and fifty years before 1100—the West-Saxon English of Alfred, or, as it is called, the Anglo-Saxon, was the only written or literary form of speech of the country, and it is in the main to the writings of that period that we must look for the ground-work upon which our modern English has been built up. Then came the Norman Conquest with its vast revolution ; after which, until far on in the fourteenth century, English as a national and recognized language did not exist. French and Latin were the written languages of the Court and of the Church—of all officials, and of all Ecclesiastics. All this while, however, English was still the vernacular, and consequently throughout the period are to be found various examples of this spoken tongue, written down with more or less accuracy of spelling in the different dialects spoken by the respective authors. These writings, however, were but dialects, and however valuable they may now be to us, as samples of the talk of our forefathers, they were, at the time they were written, to the dominant governing classes, much the same as similar writings would be now, if written in Welsh or Gaelic. One consequence of the utter disuse of English as the official tongue was, that the native writer of each district began to write according to the varieties of his native speech, and hence are found wide divergences from the original tongue in form and pronunciation. These have been classified according to the districts in which they prevailed, as Early Southern English, Early Midland English, and Early Northern English.

Until about A.D. 1300, we have specimens only of the two former, but from that date to about 1400 the three forms of English existed together, and in them can be traced the various changes, the constant and inevitable assimilation of foreign words, and the consequent developments of the language down to the time of Wycliffe and Chaucer. It may be said that during this period of nearly three hundred years, English, as a literary language, was in a larviform stage, seemingly inactive and despised, but yet going on with its life—now casting a slough of inflexion, now changing its construction, until at last it reasserts its claim to be the language of the people, through the two great writers of it—Wycliffe and Chaucer, and the father of English typography, William Caxton. These all spoke the Midland dialect and wrote in it, and henceforth the Midland became the literary form, which has developed into what is now the recognized standard of modern English. But for this accidental and fortuitous exaltation of the Midland dialects, our modern speech might have been based on the Southern form, and in that case it would now have been polite to say ‘the vield was a zowed with zeed—you can zee how vast it do growy,’ &c.¹

That this is so, a mere cursory glance through some of the Southern writers of the thirteenth century will abundantly show. In the ‘Ancren Riwe,’ about A.D. 1220, we find *for* spelt *vor*; *fly*, *vli3e*; *fourth*, *veorð*; *fifth*, *vifte*, &c. ‘Robert of Gloucester,’ about 1300, we find spelt *first*, *verst*; *fast*, *vaste* and *uaste*; *fair*, *vair*, &c. Later and last, ‘John of Trevisa,’ about 1387, has *for* spelt *vor*; *forth*, *vorþ*; *few*, *veaw*; *fight*, *vyzte*, &c.

Besides these peculiarities, there are many others which though common enough in the Western Dialects, are not polite English—yet we find them written by these old writers precisely as they are spoken to-day. For instance, ‘Robert of Gloucester’ says, *as þe hende he dude verst*. The same word *dude* for *did* or *acted*, would be so spoken now. Again, *þo* is used by him for *then*—so it is commonly now—*liche*, the common adverbial affix *then*, is *like* now,

¹ All this is very ably and fully treated by Dr. Murray in the article, ‘English Language,’ in the ‘Encyclopedia Britannica,’ New Ed. 1879.

instead of the modern and polite *ly*. See W. S. Gram., p. 81. The inflexion of the infinitive, in intransitive verbs, the peculiar characteristic of modern South-Western dialects, exists in precisely the same form as in the modern dialects in 'Robert of Gloucester.' For instance, where *þe duc Willam anon uorbed alle his, þat non nere so wod to robby: ne no maner harm do þere*. (See W. S. Gram., p. 49.)

A common form at present in South-Western dialects of the past participle of *to be* is *u-bee*, instead of *been*, the polite. 'Robert of Gloucester' spells this *ibe*, and in the 'Exmoor Scolding' it is *a be'*.

The latest writer of note in the English of South-Western England was John of Trevisa, and in his writings are many of the peculiarities still found in the South-Western dialects—as *eorneþ* for *runneth*; *a* for *he*, &c. After his time, which was contemporary with Chaucer, we look in vain for specimens of the South-Western English—indeed, thenceforward it existed only as a dialect, and was used, much as it now is in 'Punch,' as an example of an uncouth, barbarous form of the language, fit only to be the type of clowndom. It has, however, been handed down in its spoken form with fewer departures from its parent stock than its sister dialect, the Midland—now become the English of literature; so that in a living form are now to be heard in the South-West, words and pronunciation which have remained unaltered at least since the time of Simon de Montfort. To trace back these forms from the present to those times is a study of great interest, and it is moreover the best means of understanding the true history of the language. For this purpose it is desirable to discover, and to preserve every scrap of writing in which any South-Western dialectal expressions occur. From the xiv. century to Shakspeare, a period of over two hundred years, excepting the 'Chronicon Vilodunense,' a poem of Old Wiltshire dialect of about 1420, there is a blank. The newly invented printing-press, during all this time, seems to have had no type for any but Midland and Northern writers; until at last we have, in our great dramatist, a mere fragment in 'King Lear' (Act IV. sc. vi.). This, however, is of great value as the first instance of the *Ich* (I, *ego*) of earlier writers having become *ch* before a vowel and *ise* before a consonant. No doubt these few words put into

the mouth of Edgar, were mere stage dialect, but the *v*'s and *z*'s, then as now, served to mark a Southern speech, and were even then assumed as befitting a clown's disguise. Ben Jonson, in his 'Tale of a Tub,' makes several of his characters pronounce their *f*'s and *s*'s as *v* and *z*. Also in the first two scenes he makes *Hilts* use *Ich* and *ch* for *I*, but this form is not continued throughout the play. Jonson makes his characters use some very unmistakable West Country phrases—as 'Valentine's Eve was thirty year,' *i.e.* '30 years ago on Valentine's Eve' (Act I. sc. i.). '*Thik same*;' '*un*,' '*hun*' for *him*. This too, is but stage dialect, like his friend Shakspeare's; for he makes *To-pan* say, 'O you mun look,' &c., in the same sentence with *zin* and *zure*—thus mixing Northern with Western.

Two or three fragments of Somersetshire are all that exist of the seventeenth century—of these the most important is 'The Somersetshire Man's Complaint,' said to have been written by one Thomas Davies, between 1614 and 1648. It is preserved in the Lansdowne MS. 674, in the British Museum. I am indebted to Mr. Hertridge's industry for a copy of this from the original MS., and it is here printed for the second time only. It first appeared in Brayley's 'Graphic and Historical Illustrator,' 1834. Mr. Hertridge was unaware of this fact, stated in the Bibliographical List, Series A, Part II., published by this Society, and is quite entitled to all the credit of a discovery.

The 'Complaint' was evidently written about the time of the great rebellion, but except as a link in the long chain of years from 'Trevisa' down to the 'Exmoor Scolding,' it is of little value. It is a literary production, and its Somersetshireisms are just those to be found in Shakspeare's fragment. They prove the prevalence in the seventeenth century of the *ch* for *I*, which, as seen in the 'Exmoor Scolding,' was very common for more than a hundred years later, but which is now no longer a feature of Somerset dialect, and except in a very circumscribed district is quite obsolete.

As a specimen of the dialect the 'Complaint' is very inferior to the 'Scolding and Courtship,' and yet it must have been written by a West country man, for no other would have used the word *agreed* in the sense it implies in v. 5.

THE SOMERSETSHIRE MAN'S COMPLAINT.

Gods Boddikins 'c hill worke no more
 dost thinke 'c hill labor to be poore
 no no ich haue a doe.¹

If this be nowe the world & trade
 that I must breake & Rogues be made
 Ich will a plundring too.

'Chill sell my cart & eake my Plow
 and get a zworld if I know how
 for I meane to be right
 'Chill learne to drinke to sweare to roare
 to be a Gallant, drab, & whore
 no matter tho nere fight.

But first a warrant that is vitt
 from Mr.² Captaine I doe gett
 twill make a sore a doo
 For then 'c haue power by my place
 to steale a horse without disgrace
 and beate the owner too.

God blesse vs what a world is heere
 can³ neuer last another yeare
 voke cannot be able to zow.
 dost think I euer 'c had⁴ the art
 to plow my ground up with my Cart
 My beast⁵ are all I goe⁶

¹ This is still the p. part. of *do*, pronounced *u-dò*, and rhyming still with *too* (teo'), precisely as it is found in the writers of the xiii. and xiv. century.

² Still a usual custom to put Mr. before a title, as Mr. Parson, Mr. Turney, Mr. Fish-jowder, Mr. Gin-lmun, especially when a sneer or slight is implied.

³ A good example of the omission of the nom. case. (See W. S. G., p. 34.)

⁴ This must be an error; the author in his desire to put in the *ch* as often as possible has here inserted it out of place. It should probably read *Dost think that euer 'chad the art*.

⁵ Beast, used collectively, is still a plural noun. (See W. S. Gram., p. 9.)

⁶ The p. part. of *go*. The prefix is spelt *a* in the first verse—a capital *I* is quite a novelty. This form is still that of the dialect, while *agone* signifies *ago*.

Ize had zixe oxen tother day
 and them the Roundheads stole away
 a Mischief be their speed
 I had six horses left me whole
 and them the Cavileers have stole
 Gods zores they are both agreed.¹

Here I doe labor toile & zweet
 and dure the cold, hot, dry & wett
 But what dost think I gett.
 Fase² iust my Labor for my paines
 thes Garrizons haue all the gaines
 And thither all is vett.³

There goes my corne my beanes & pease
 I doe not dare them to displease
 they doe zoe zweare & vapor.
 Then to the Governor I come
 And pray him to discharge the some
 but nought can get so⁴ paper.

Gods bones dost think a Paper will
 Keep warme my back & belly fill
 No, no, goe burne the note
 If that another yeare my veeld
 no better profitt doe me yeeld
 I may goe cut my throate.

¹ This word is still used in precisely the sense here implied, viz. a conspiring together, and not simply an agreement. *Twas a 'greed thing*, is a most common expression, meaning that the matter was the result of a plot or conspiracy.

² This form is obsolete—though it may survive in *fags*!

³ p. part. of to fetch—it is now sounded rather broader—*vaat* or *vaut*. There is an old proverb very commonly used—*Vuur u-vaut, Dee'ŕ u-baut*, i. e. 'Farfetched, dear bought.' Gower, the contemporary of Chaucer, has (Tale of the Coffers)—

'And then he let the coffers fet
 Upon the board, and did them set.'

⁴ The use of *so* for *save* or *except* is now quite obsolete.

If any money 'c haue in store
 then straight a warrant come therfore
 or I must plundred¹ be
 And when 'c haue shuffled vp one pay
 then comes a new without delay
 was euer the like a zee.²

And as³ this were not greife enow
 they have a Thing called Quarter⁴ too
 Oh ! that's a vengeance⁵ waster
 A pox vpon't they call it vree
 'C ham sure that made vs slaues to be
 And euery Roage our Master.

Verum.

(Collated by the Editor with the original MS.)

Of the history of the 'Exmoor Scolding and Courtship' nothing really authentic seems to be known. The 'Courtship' in its present form first appeared in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' for June 1746, prefaced by a letter signed 'H. Oxon.' [Exon?], in which it is stated to have been 'first written by a clergyman of Devonshire, near the forest of Exmoor, but, I believe, has received some additions.' 'The writer marks several words with an asterisk, which he requests to know the meaning of.' This was followed by the 'Scolding' in July, 1746,⁶ in the same magazine.

"In the next month appears an article dated 'Exon. 12 Aug. 1746,' and signed 'Devoniensis,' in which the writer states, that he

* ¹ This word would be still pronounced *pluun'dred* or *pluun'dreed*—so also *mas'akreed* for *massacred*.

² The p. part. of *to see* is now *u-zeed*.

³ The use of *as* for *if* in this sense is quite obsolete.

⁴ The allusion here is to the custom of quartering soldiers upon the farmers and householders.

⁵ *vengeance waster* would now be rendered *Devil of a waster*. The word is used in the 'Exmoor Scolding' in the same way.

⁶ The quotations here, and on p. 10, are from a note in MS. by Sir F. Madden, dated 1834, attached to the copy of the 7th edition, now belonging to the E. D. S., but which previously belonged to him.

has lived a good while within the Forest of Exmoor, and subjoins a vocabulary of all the words in the two Devonshire Dialogues, with the addition of some others, which formed the basis of the Glossary in the Edition of 1771. This correspondent, whoever he was, is not the author of the Dialogues, as appears from his remarks.

"In the same vol., p. 57 (*Gent. Mag.*), is a vocabulary of the Lancashire Dialect, taken from the first Edition of 'Tim Bobbin' (which appears at length in the 'British Mag.' of that year, 1746), and a specimen of the Dialect at the end, which is copied into the preface of the 7th Ed. of the 'Exmoor Scolding,' 1771.

"In the same vol., p. 567, is an interpretation of *Angle-bowing*, &c., by 'Devoniensis'; and p. 644 is another communication from 'Devoniensis,' dated 'Exon. 8 Dec. 1746,' correcting his interpretation of *Bone-shave*, and sending a charm for its cure.

"Now this interpretation and charm is entered in the MS. folio at p. 31, and is there ascribed to Mr. Wm. Chapple, which identifies the latter with 'Devoniensis,' and probably also proves him to be the Editor of the Edition of 1771 and previous ones." See note 6, p. 9.

In 'Blackwood's Magazine' for February, 1819, appeared a reprint of a portion of the 'Exmoor Courtship,' accompanied by what the author is pleased to call a translation,¹ and in a preface thereto he says, but without giving his authority, that it is probably as old as the time of Henry VII. This may be so in substance, but it is quite evident that the text of both the 'Courtship' and of the 'Scolding,' as we now have them, were written by the same hand—believed to be 'the Reverend William Hole, B.D., who was appointed Archdeacon of Barnstable in 1744,' and who died 1791. He is the 'neighbouring clergyman' referred to in the preface, which was first published with the 7th edition in 1771.

On the other hand, Sir John Bowring says ('Transactions of the Devonshire Association,' 1866, Part v. p. 28)—"The authors of the 'Exmoor Scolding' and 'Exmoor Courting' were Andrew Brice and

¹ At the end of the portion published in 'Blackwood' is 'the conclusion in our next.' The conclusion however never appeared.

Benjamin Bowring. The former was a learned and laborious bookseller in Exeter, whose folio dictionary was a valuable contribution to the geographical knowledge of the day. The latter (my paternal great-grandfather) was the grandson of a John Bowring of Chumleigh, who was largely engaged in the woollen trade, and coined money for the payment of those he employed."

No authority is given by Sir John Bowring for the above statement, and he entirely omits to notice the remark as to the 'neighbouring clergyman,' which certainly was published in 1771, and during the lifetime of the said clergyman. The balance of evidence is very greatly on the side of Sir F. Madden, who gives 'Mr. Merrivale' as his authority, in asserting Archdeacon Hole to have been the author.

The two dialogues from their first appearance seem to have commanded a good deal of attention, for no less than seven editions were issued between 1746 and 1771, while a tenth edition was put out in January 1788. Since then a reprint of the edition of 1771 was published in 1827. All these editions were published at Exeter, and besides them is the issue of the 'Exmoor Courtship' with its classical paraphrase before referred to, in 'Blackwood's Magazine' for February, 1819, and 'a new edition' published by John Russell Smith, London, in 1839.

These various issues, though called editions, have been nothing more than reprints,—inasmuch as no variation in the text beyond a letter here and there, is discoverable in any one of them from the earliest to the latest.¹ Hence the mistakes of the original author, with the numerous misprints of the first edition, have all been servilely copied and handed down to us, as though the very commas were inspired. This is somewhat remarkable, inasmuch as the editor of the edition of 1771, whoever he may have been, evidently knew of these errors, for, in several cases he has corrected them in the Glossary, while he has left them without remark in the text. Cf. *vramp-shaken*, l. 120. *vrampshapen*, in Glossary. *strait*, l. 78. *strat*, Glossary. *avore*, l. 123. *avroar*, Glossary. *poehee*, l. 188. *poochee*, Glossary. This unwilling-

¹ Sir F. Madden says, 'In the text of this Edition (1771) there is not the slightest variation from the Editions of 1746 and 1788.' This will be found to be rather too general a statement.

ness to touch the original, seems to prove that the compiler of the Glossary and of the notes (1771) was not the original author.

It is evident from the fact of a Glossary being required, so early as 1771, to render the dialogues intelligible even to Devonian readers, that a great many of the words used were at that time either obsolete or very rarely heard, while now, except for its help, almost the whole of both would be quite obscure to ordinary readers. The compiler of it deserves our hearty recognition of the value of his services, while at the same time we may not quite agree with all his etymologies or his interpretations, as for instance, where he defines *zart!* as *soft*. Surely this is an interjection of the quasi oath kind, still very common, meaning '*ds-heart*,' like the well-known *zounds*. Only the words which were then thought difficult were explained, and we may take it that the others were then considered too common and well-known to need remark. A study of these omissions which are now inserted in *italics* in the Glossary, will be instructive as helping to gauge the change made in the vocabulary of the language, even in so conservative and out of the way district, as that of West Somerset or Exmoor, during the last century.

A great many of the words which only a hundred years ago were thought too common to be noticed, are now not only obsolete, but so entirely forgotten that I can find no certain explanation of them, and can only guess at their meaning.

Not so with the construction of the sentences or with the pronunciation. These may be said to have scarcely changed at all, and the entire dialogues are in that respect a striking confirmation of what I ventured to maintain in the paper on the dialect of West Somerset, published by this Society in 1875, viz., that dialectal changes, as respects pronunciation and idiom, are slow, even though whole classes of local words may change and become forgotten.

As compositions these dialogues are in many points very faithful and admirable examples of the peculiar language of the district, which is practically the same as that of West Somerset, and about which I have already pretty fully treated; but the author, perfect as he was in his knowledge of the dialect, has not escaped the pitfalls which seem to entrap all those who write either poem or prose in

the vernacular. Well as they may be practically acquainted with it, yet the same culture which prompts them to compose at all, binds them in chains of literaryism—unconsciously colours their work and blinds them to little errors in construction they would never make in speaking, but which they cannot avoid, or do not notice in writing.

The 'neighbouring clergyman' most probably composed these dialogues as a vehicle for the very large number of quaint words in the vocabulary of Peter Lock the fiddler, and in doing so was compelled to exaggerate even the redundancy of epithet, which, as the preface truly says, is used by 'noted scolds.' It is, however, quite absurd to maintain that such long strings of synonymous words as are here put into the mouths of different persons could ever have been heard in real life. The exceeding coarseness of these dialogues, was perhaps to some extent a necessity of the material to be worked up, to which a clergyman even in those days did not like to put his name; and it is probably to that quality they owe their great popularity, for it is most unlikely that so many editions would have been called for to supply the then students of Dialects, or even 'Lawyers' on circuit.

And here I must strongly protest against the libel contained in the title-page of the 'Scolding.' To imply that the subject-matter so much dwelt upon in this dialogue is a fair sample of the propriety or decency of the young women of the district in the last century, is simply scandalous. Coarse-mouthed scolds there may have been amongst them, but the utter foulness of much of this dialogue, is far more probably a reflex of the propriety of an author's own mind, who was evidently ashamed to own his work, though not ashamed to reap the profits of at least nine editions, by pandering to the taste of the class which delights to feed on garbage.

By no possibility could this objectionable matter be expunged, inasmuch as it pervades every page, and it is with much reluctance that I assume any part in the perpetuation of it. Nothing but the confidence that its form is not such as to attract the ordinary reader, and that students alone will take the trouble to wade through it, would have induced me to touch such pitch.

It is probable that the author had no thought at all of writing for students, or he would have taken pains to have been more consistent in his spelling, and not to have given the same word in different shapes; for instance, in some places *what* is spelt as in ordinary English, while in others, e. g. in l. 342, it is *whot*, and in ll. 149, 247, 254, it is *hot*. This last is the correct and invariable pronunciation, while *what* in the text is mere literaryism. So *head* is sometimes *yead*, and sometimes *aead*, while *zing* and *sing* are found on the same page. *Gambowling* in one place is *gamboyling* in another. *velst*, l. 134; *valst*, l. 169. *zet*, l. 340; *set*, l. 425. There is throughout a great confusion of *s* and *z*, which goes to show only that the writer was not accustomed to carefully analyse the true sound of what he meant to write. The same must be said of *v* and *f*, which are sometimes misplaced. He spells *this*, *theez* and *thes* on the same page, ll. 594, 601. So *quiet* is *quite*, l. 375, the correct N. Dev. form, and *quiet*, l. 604, with many more. He also spells the West Country inflection of the intransitive verb, sometimes *y* and sometimes *ee*.

All this is to be expected. Many of the clergy even now, when dialects and provincialisms are supposed to be dying out; men too of real culture and large knowledge, are unable to throw off their native brogue, and quite unconsciously make their *s*'s into *z*'s, and their *f*'s into *v*'s. One I know well who always reads, 'A zower went vorth to zow,' &c., &c. Yet of course he would not write thus, and would perhaps contend that his pronunciation was correct.

A great many literaryisms are pointed out in the notes, and generally consist of very small matters, but they are important to the student; e. g. *as soon as* instead of the invariable *so soon as*. *we*, l. 353, instead of *us*, as a nominative. To have noted every one would have unduly enlarged the book.

On the whole the two dialogues are most valuable as preserving very clearly the general spirit of the dialect as well as many very interesting peculiarities, which remain unaltered to this day; for instance, the habit of using *the* when speaking of a person, with an adjective preceding his name, as 'tha young Zaunder Vursdon,'

l. 192, &c. This habit was quite congenial to the author, for he never once omits it. Another habit is that of prefixing a title of relationship or trade to names, as 'Cozen Andra,' 'Zester Taamzen,' even when much abuse occurs in the same address.

The great peculiarity of the whole is the use throughout of *ch* for *I* (ego) in connection with the verbs *to be* and *have*. I cannot but think that this use is rather strained in the text, especially as in more than one place it is manifestly wrong, as in l. 335, *vor es chant hire*. Here the *es* is the nominative, and *chant* is clearly *sha'nt* in this case; *chant* without the *es* might be if the context allowed, *I have not*, or as it now is, *I ha'nt* [aay aa'nt]. This form of *I* is now completely obsolete, and has been so, longer than the memory of the oldest inhabitant. The other form of *I* spelt *es*, and in one place *ees*, is, I maintain, not the singular *I*, but the plural *us* used for the singular. This is still done, but judging from these dialogues it was more common formerly; *us* is still the nominative most common in North Devon, and it is pronounced *ess*; Nathan Hogg always spells it *es*. In the text the same word *es* has to represent both *us* and *is* in l. 362, and *he is*, l. 462. The pronoun *I* only occurs twice in the two dialogues.

This present edition of the 'Exmoor Scolding and Courtship' is a reprint of the *ninth* published at Exeter, 1778, and it has been thought well to make no alteration in the text, which is identical in all the reprints hitherto put out, but to point out in notes the principal discrepancies, together with such observations as seemed desirable.

The Glossary has been completed by adding thereto such words as are not now considered to be received English, with definitions of all those known at present.

The whole dialogues have moreover been carefully written in Mr. Ellis's Glossic so as to show the exact pronunciation as still heard in the district, with which I am quite familiar. The printing has been so arranged as to read line by line with the original text. To those critics who even now abuse any method of spelling but the old conventional A B C, I would say, that to render any dialect valuable as a study, there must be some means by which its pronunciation

can be compared with others, and by which we may be able to appreciate the quality of its sounds. Who but an Englishman would at first sight pronounce correctly *bone*, *done*, *gone*?—yet written *boan*, *duun*, *gaun*, the difference in their sounds is at once made plain.

Mr. Ellis's system of phonetic writing needs no defence from me—it is that adopted by this Society, and is the most easily acquired. A complete key drawn up by Mr. Ellis himself will be found in my paper on West Somerset Dialect, E. D. S., 1875, which should be well studied before any attempt is made to read the 'Exmoor Scolding' in the vernacular. An abridged key¹ will be found in the paper on the Grammar of West Somerset, E. D. S., 1877, with some remarks upon the natural vowel by Dr. J. A. H. Murray. This natural vowel represented by *ú* very frequently appears in these dialogues, and should be well mastered by any one who desires to imitate the sounds of the dialect—a little trouble so bestowed will not be thrown away. From the spelling of the text it would be impossible for any one not familiar with it to have any notion of the pronunciation,—*e*, *a*, and *o*, are each in turn used to represent the same sound, *viz.* short *u*, i. e. the sound of *e* in *the book*, spoken quickly. This short *the* is always written *dhu*—and I have noticed this word is generally a stumbling-block to those who are ignorant of the glossic system.

In the following pages are many notes referring to my former papers published by this Society (before I had seen a copy of these dialogues), in which the passages noted will be found either to be more fully explained, or to be vernacular illustrations of idiom or grammar remarked upon in the treatises. These references will be found abbreviated thus:—W. S. Dial., Dialect of West Somerset, Eng. Dialect Society, Series D., 1875. W. S. Gram., Grammar of West Somerset, E. D. S., Series D., 1877.

F. T. E.

Fordown, January, 1879.

¹ See Reprint, p. 110.

A N
Exmoor SCOLDING,

I N T H E
P R O P R I E T Y a n d D E C E N C Y
O F

Exmoor L A N G U A G E,

B E T W E E N

T W O S I S T E R S :

Wilmot Moreman and Thomafin Moreman ;

As they were S P I N N I N G.

A L S O, A N

Exmoor C O U R T S H I P.



The N I N T H E D I T I O N :

Wherein are now added,

Such NOTES therein, and a VOCABULARY at
the End, as seem necessary for explaining uncouth Expressions,
and interpreting barbarous Words and Phrases.



E X E T E R :

Printed and fold by W. GRIGG, Bookfeller and Stationer, in the
Fore-street, nearly opposite to Broad-gate, 1778.

(Price S I X - P E N C E .)

PREFACE.¹

[TO THE EDITION OF 1778.]

THE former Editions of these Dialogues, tho' well receiv'd, and esteem'd by those who had some Acquaintance with the Provincial Dialects in the Western Parts of *England*, yet for Want of such a Glossary as is now added, were in a great Measure unintelligible to most others, except perhaps a few Etymologists and Collectors of old and uncommon Words: The Editor² has therefore endeavoured to supply that Defect; and that this 9th Edition might be rendered as correct as possible, the Whole has been carefully revised, some explanatory Notes inserted, and the Spelling of the provincial Words better accommodated to their usual Pronunciation among the Peasants in the County of Devon: This, as well as their Explanations in the Vocabulary or Glossary, 'tis presumed may be of some Use; to such *Lawyers* as go the Western Circuit, by whom the Evidence of a Country-man is sometimes mistaken, for want of a proper Interpretation of his *Language*. In this Glossary we have not only shewn in what Sense the most uncommon Words are generally understood in this Country, but also the Etymologies of most of them, whether deriv'd from the old Anglo-Saxon, or from the British, French, Dutch, &c. Some few, whereof the true Signification was somewhat doubtful, are distinguished by a Q: The Meaning of these we should be glad to see better ascertained: and if any Person of Judgment shall observe any other Words to be ill explained in this Glossary, he is desired to signify it to the Editor,² to be corrected in a future Edition.

It may be proper to advertise such of our Readers as may be Strangers to the Devonshire Dialects, that the following is a genuine Specimen thereof as spoken in those Parts of the County where the Scene is laid; (the Phraseology being also agreeable thereto, and the Similes, &c. properly adapted to the Characters of the Speakers;)

¹ This preface appears for the first time with the 7th Edition—Exeter, A. Brice and B. Thorn, 1771, price nine pence.

^{2—2} The 7th Edition has, 'Editors have.'

and not an arbitrary Collection of ill-connected clownish Words, like those introduced into the Journals of some late Sentimental Travellers as well as the Productions of some Dramatic Writers, whose Clowns no more speak in their own proper Dialects, than a dull School-boy makes elegant and classical *Latin*; their suppos'd *Language* being such as would be no less unintelligible to the Rusticks themselves, than to those polite Pretenders to Criticism who thereby mean to make them ridiculous. It must be confess'd that the following Dialogues have not been exempt from somewhat of the like Censure; it having been alledg'd, that in the *Exmoor* Scolding particularly, the Substantives have frequently too many Adjectives annex'd to them, nearly synonymous; and that the oburgatory Wenches in that Part of the Country have not such a *Copia Verborum* as is here represented: But we may appeal for the Truth of the Contrary to all who have heard the most noted Scolds among them, when engaged and well-match'd with foul-mouth'd and nimble-tongued Antagonists; and how apt they are to string up together a Variety of abusive Words and devout Names, (as they term them) tho' many of them, like Sancho's Proverbs, have nearly the same Meaning; not sparing others which may be sometimes impertinent to, and beside their Purpose, provided they are sufficiently abusive.—The following Collection was originally made about the Beginning of the present Century, by a blind itinerant Fidler, (one *Peter Lock*, of North-Moulton, or its Neighbourhood) who was a Man of some Humour; and tho' his Skill and Dexterity as a Musician is said to have recommended him to the Notice of the Great, his more common Converse with the lower Class of People, gave him frequent Opportunities of hearing and observing their Phrases and Diction; and, as Persons deprived of Sight have generally a good Memory, he was thereby the better enabled to retain and repeat them. This attracted the Notice¹ of a neighbouring Clergyman, who by the Fidler's Assistance put the *Exmoor* Scolding into the Form in which we now have it, and, before his Death, (which happened soon after the Year 1725) communicated it to the Public,² and afterwards gave Rise to the *Exmoor* Courtship, a Performance thought deserving to be added therunto; but Copies of the Scolding were, for some Time before and after this, handed about in Manuscript³ above 40 Years since, and was then taken to be the original Composition of the Clergyman aforesaid; few being then apprehensive of its having

¹ In the copy of the 7th Edition belonging to this Society is a pencil note in the handwriting of Sir F. Madden, to whom the copy belonged—'Rev. Will. Hole, Archdeacon of Barnstaple.'

² 7th Edition has, 'communicated it to the Editor of the first and subsequent Editions, who perfected the *Courtship*; but copies,' &c. Sir F. Madden has underlined *Editor*, and in another pencil note says, 'Mr. Wm. Chapple?'

³ 7th Edition has, 'Manuscript, of which the Writer hereof has seen One near 40 Years since, which was then taken to be,' &c.

any other Author, or how far the Person who furnish'd its Materials might claim Title thereto, tho' his Fame as a Fidler was not yet extinct.

It may be also requisite to observe here, that the Forest of *Exmoor* (so call'd as being the Moor wherein the River *Exe* rises) is, for the most Part, in the County of Somerset; and tho' Parracombe and Challacombe in its Neighbourhood, which is the scene of our Drama, be in Devonshire, it must not be thence inferr'd that the same Dialect in all Particulars extends thro' the whole County; it being chiefly confin'd to the Northern Parts thereof: For many Words and Phrases therein, would not be well understood by People in the South-Hams, (by which is meant all the Southern Parts of Devonshire, and not any particular Town, as some Topographical Authors have supposed;) where the Dialect varies as much from this, as this from that of Dorset and Wiltshire: And even near *Exmoor*, none but the very lowest Class of People generally speak the *Language* here exemplified; but were it more commonly spoken by their Betters, perhaps it might not be so much to their Discredit, as some may imagine; most of the antiquated Words being so expressive as not to be despised, though now grown obsolete, and no longer used by the politer Devonians, who in general speak as good modern English as those of any other County. 'Tis well known, that after the Expulsion of the antient Britons from those Parts of the Kingdom which our Saxon Ancestors had conquered, the English Saxon *Language* (a Dialect of the old Teutonic, or High Dutch)¹ took Place of the British every-where, but in Wales and Cornwall; and so continued until the Norman Conquest, when the Conqueror, endeavouring to introduce the French Tongue, and causing all Edicts and judicial Proceedings to be in that *Language*, the Saxon soon became intermixt with much of the old Norman French: But notwithstanding this, and some Tincture of British and Danish, besides the Words borrowed from the learned *Languages* by the Professors of Arts and Sciences, &c. the antient Anglo-Saxon Tongue, with some Variation of its Sound and Orthography, chiefly prevails in the vulgar Part of our present *Language*; and it will appear in the Glossary subjoin'd to the following Dialogues, that most of the remarkable Words therein inserted, are of Saxon Derivation, and if they are not all retained in other Counties, such Counties have many others derived from the same Fountain; not to mention the Variations of the Pronunciation in

¹ It must be remembered that 'High Dutch' is a very different thing from *hoch Deutsch* as now understood. Until the division of the 'Low Countries,' the term 'High Dutch' was applied to the language spoken by the people of the Northern part corresponding to Holland and Friesland, to distinguish it from the 'Low Dutch' of Flanders and Brabant. Even now it is common among the better class of people to speak of Dutch as 'High Dutch'—a very frequent expression in reference to anything unintelligible is, 'that is *High Dutch* to me.'

different Places. Hence every County has its peculiar Dialect, at least in respect to the vulgar *Language* of their Rusticks, insomuch that those of different Counties cannot¹ easily understand each other. Among Persons engaged in Commerce indeed, or who have had a liberal Education, we may better distinguish their several Countries by their Accent, than by any Impropriety in their *Language*: But we are here speaking only of the lower Class of People in each County; and that these have in several Parts of England a more uncouth and barbarous Jargon than the worst among the Devonians, might be easily shewn: *Let* it suffice to give an Instance in the following Specimen of the *Lancashire* Dialect, transcribed from a Dialogue therein, which was published in 1746.

M. "Odds Fish! boh that wur breve—I wou'd I'd bin eh yore "Kele."

T. "Whau whan, boh theawst hear—It wur dree wey tooto; "heawe'er I geet there be fufe o'clock, on before eh opp'nt dur, I "covert Nip with the cleawt, ot eh droy meh nese weh, t' let him see "heaw I stoart her:—Then I opp'nt dur; on whot te dule dust "think, boh three little Bandyhewits coom weaughing os if th' little "ewals wou'd o worrit me, on after that swallut me whick: Boh "presently there coom o fine wunmon; on I took her for a hoo "justice, hoor so meety fine: For I heard Ruchott o' Jack's tell meh "Measter, that hoo justices awlus did th' mooast o' th' wark: Heawe'er, "I axt hur if Mr. Justice wur o whoam; hoo cou'd naw opp'n hur "meawth t' sey eigh, or now; boh simpurt on sed iss, (the Dickons "iss hur on him too)—Sed I, I wudyid'n tell him I'd fene speyk to "him:—"

The Reader must be left to judge, on a Comparison of this with any Part of the *Essex* *Language*, which of the two has the most Barbarisms. Perhaps he will want an Interpreter to inform him, that "Kele" means "Place" or "Circumstance;"—that "Dree way" denotes a "long and tedious Way;"—that "Stoart" means "valued;"—that "Bandyhewits" are "little Dogs;" that "Hoo" stands for "She;"—and "Wudyid'n" is "wish you would;"—and unless thus explained, may be apt to think it little more intelligible than the Buckinghamshire Farmer's Speech. "I ken a Steg gobblin at our Leer Deer;" which few besides his Countrymen would guess to mean. "I see a Gander feeding at our Barn-door."—But to trouble our Readers with no further Observations on this Subject here, we must refer them for further Particulars to the Vocabulary and Notes, submitting the Whole to their candid Censure.

Exeter, January 1778.

¹ 'Can't,' in 7th Edition.

In the following pages the original text is printed on the left hand; the Glossic transcript, corresponding line by line, on the right.

AN EXMOOR SCOLDING.

Thomasin. **L**OCK! Wilmot, vor why vor ded'st roily¹ zo upon ma up to Challacomb Rowl? — Ees² dedent thenk tha had'st a be'³ zich a Labb o' tha Tongue.—What a Vengeance! wart⁴ betwatled, or wart tha baggaged;⁵—or had'st tha 5 took⁵ a Shord, or a paddled?⁶

Wilmot. I roily upon tha, ya⁷ gurt, thonging, banging, muxy Drawbreech?—Noa, 'twas thee roil'st upon me up to⁸ Daraty Vogwill's Upzitting, whan⁹ tha vung'st to (and be 9 hang'd to tha!) to Rabbin.—'Shou'd zem¹⁰ tha wart zeck arter¹¹ Me-at and

¹ The regular form of the infinitive for intransitive verbs. (See W. S. G. p. 49.)

² Spelt *es* elsewhere in the text, *e. g.* line 10. See note 3, p. 26. Also spelt *is*, line 22.

³ Still the usual form of the past part. of 'to be' throughout North Devon and the Hill Country of Somerset. Compare Robert of Gloucester's 'William the Conqueror' (Morris and Skeat): line 1, '*Moche ap þe sorwe ibe*;' line 3, '*Of moni bataile þat ap ibe*.'

⁴ The form *wart* is becoming rare—now it would be *wus(t)*.

^{5—5} These are elisions of one of two similar and consecutive vowels; if written or pronounced in full these would be *dhu u-bag'eejd*, *dhu u-tèokt*. The same thing occurs when two similar consonants come together—they are not pronounced separately, but are slurred into one. (See W. S. G., pp. 27, 28.)

⁶ At present this final *d* would generally disappear, and we should hear *u-bátwaat'l*, *u-pad'l*, *u-bag'eej*—if for emphasis the *d* were sounded, it would have nearly a syllable to itself, *u-bag'eej-dǎ*, *u-pad'l-dǎ*, *u-bát-waat'l-dǎ*. Compare *pûch-tǔ*, l. 32.

⁷ This form of *you* is used in the dialect only as a prefix to some epithet, and is distinctly a vocative form, which is so extremely common that I quite overlooked it in my W. S. Gram., p. 33. It is pronounced a little broader than

U A·K'SMOAR SKOA'LDEEN.

Thomasin. **L** AU·K! Wúl·mut, vur wuy vau'r deds rauy·lëe¹ zoa
upaun mu aup tu Chaal·ikum Raewl?—Es (ees?)²
ded-n dhengk dh-ads u-bee³ zich u Laab u dhu tung.—Waut u
vai·njuns! wurt⁴ u-bútwaat·ld, ur wurt dhu-bag·eejd;⁵—ur ads dhu-
tèokt⁵ u shoa·ürl, ur u-pad·ld?⁶ 5

Wilmot. Aa'y rauy·lëe paun dhu, yu⁷ guurt, dhaung·een, ban·geen,
muuk·sëe Draa·buurch?—Noa·u, twuz dheer rauy·lus pun mee aup tu⁸
Daar·utëe Vaug·wee·ülz aup-zút·een, haun⁹ dhu vungs tûe (un bee
ang tu dhu!) tu Rab·een.—Sh'd zúm¹⁰ dhu wurt zek aar·tur¹¹ Mai·t·n 9

tha (the of the text), but the sound is very similar to the Cockney *you*, generally spelt *yer* in Punch. It will be noticed throughout these dialogues that the form is never once used except as above—never as an objective.

⁸ The use of *to* for *at* is very common, indeed it is the rule. (See W. S. G., p. 89.) Compare Robert of Gloucester's 'William the Conqueror' (ed. Morris and Skeat), line 399:—

‘þre siþe he ber crowne aȝer;
to Midewinter at Gloucestre
To Witesonetið at Westminstre
to Ester at Wincestre.’

⁹ Nothing approximating the *whan* of the text could now be heard—the *w* is quite lost, particularly in this district, and although *wai·n* is heard for the emphatic *when* in the vales of W. Somerset, yet throughout N. Devon and the Exmoor country it is *haun* or *haw·n*—as *Haw·n wauz ut?* *Haun dhu Pua·snz mae·ür voa·lud.* ‘When was it? when the Parson’s mare foaled.’

¹⁰ This phrase would not now be used—*zúm-z au·f.* ‘(It) seems as though,’ would now be said.

¹¹ This form of *after* is the usual one still; while in the Vale it is more commonly *aa·dr.*

- 10 Me-al.¹—And zo tha merst,² by ort es³ know, wey guttering; as gutter tha wutt⁴ whan tha com'st to good Tackling.—But zome zed “Shoor and shoor tha ded'st bet make wise, to zee nif tha⁵ young Josy Heaff-field wou'd come to zlack thy Boddize, and whare a wou'd be O vore or no.”——Bet 'twas thy old Disyease, Chun.
- 15 *Thomasin.* Hey go! What⁶ Disyease dest me-an,⁷ ya gurt dugged-teal'd, swapping, rousling Blowze? Ya gurt Roile, tell ma. Tell me, a zey, what Disyease dest me-an?—Ad! chell ream⁸ my Heart to tha avore Ise⁹ let tha lipped.—Chell tack et out¹⁰ wi' tha to tha true Ben, fath! Tell ma, a zey, what Disyease
- 20 dest me-an that tha zest¹¹ cham a troubled wey?

Wilmot. Why; ya purting, tatchy, stertling, jowering, prinking, mineing Theng, chell tell tha what Disyease. Is¹² ded'nt me-an the Bone-shave*, ner the Heartgun, ner the

24 Allernbatch that tha had'st in thy Niddick. 'T'es better twar:¹³ Vor

¹ I have never heard *me-at*, *me-al*, as in the text, and doubt if these forms ever existed. I believe this was an error in the original spelling, which has been perpetuated in all subsequent editions. There is no *fracture* in *meat*, but there is in *meal*—in both, the *ea* has the sound of *a* in *mate*—but the *l* in *meal* naturally produces the fracture.

² *Merst* is now obsolete—it would now be *múds* for *mightest*.

³ This is *us* not *I*, and is sounded nearly *ess*. I believe the *ees* of the text (line 3) is the same. The nom. plur. in N. Devon is always thus pronounced, and it is very commonly used for the nom. singular. (See W. S. G., p. 34.)

⁴ This is the emphatic form, and the text conveys the exact present pronunciation. The ordinary form of *wilt* is *wát*, or simply *'t*, as *dhee-t zèò'n u-dùe'd* ('thou wilt soon have finished'). Note in this example the elision referred to above; written at length it would be *dhee-t zèò'n u u-dùe'd*.

* (*Note to Ed. of 1778*). The Bone-shave (a Word perhaps no-where used or understood in Devonshire but in the Neighbourhood of Exmoor) means the Sciatica; and the Exmoorians, when afflicted therewith, use the following Charm to be freed from it:—The Patient must lie on his Back on the Bank of a River or Brook of Water, with a straight Staff by his Side, between him and the Water; and must have the following Words repeated over him, viz.

“Bone-shave right;
 “Bone-shave straight;
 “As the Water runs by the Stave,
 “Good for Bone-shave.”

They are not to be persuaded but that this ridiculous Form of Words seldom fails to give them a perfect Cure.

Mae'ül.¹—Un zoa dhu muurs,² bi oa'ürt es³ nau, wai guut'ureen; uz 10
guut'ur dhu wuut⁴ haun dhu kau'us tu gè'od taak'leen.—Bud zaum
zad “Shoo'ür-n shoo'ür dhu daeds bút mak wuyz, tu zee neef dhu⁵
“yuung Joa'zee Yef-ee'ül wúd kaum tu zlaak dhi baud'eez, un wae'ür
u wúd bi u-voa'r ur noa.”—Bü-twuz dhu oa'l dees-yai'z, Chuun.

Thomasin. Aay goo! Haut⁶ dees-yai'z dús mee'ün,⁷ yu guurt 15
dung'ud-taa'yuld, zwaup'een, ruws'leen Bluwz? Yu guurt Raay'ul,
tuul mu. Tuul mu, u zai', haut dees-yai'z dús mee'ün?—Ad! ch-ül
rai'm⁸ mi aart tu dhu uvoa'r aayz⁹ lat dhu lúp'ud.—Ch-ül taak ut
uwt¹⁰ wi dhu tu dhu truè' bai'n, faath! Tuul mu, u zai', haut dees-
yai'z dús mee'ün dhut dhu zaes¹¹ ch-aam u-truub'ld wai? 20

Wilmot. Waay; yu puur'teen, taach'ëe, stee'ürt'leen, jaa'wureen,
preng'keen, mún'seen dhaeng, ch-ül tuul dhu haut dees-yai'z. Es¹²
ded-n mee'ün dhu Boo'ün-shee'üv,* nur dh-aart'gunn, nur dh-aal-
urnbaach dhut dh-ads een dhee núd'ik. Tez bad'r twaar:¹³ vur 24

⁵ It is still nearly invariable to use *the* before a proper name when there is a qualifying adjective, as *Aay zeed dh-oa'l Faarmur Taap; dhaat-s dhu guurt Jan Uul*, ‘that is great John Red’ (Lorna Doone). It will be noticed that this rule is not once broken throughout these dialogues. Compare below l. 31, ‘the young Dick Vrogwill’ and ‘George Vuuz.’

⁶ *What* in the text is as incorrect as the *whan* noted above. In l. 149, Wilmot says, ‘no Direct to hot tha tellst’—proving that then as now the relative had no *w* sound in it.

⁷ Also pronounced *mai'n*, which at present is the common form.

⁸ The *ea* in this word has always been sounded *ai* as in *main*, and I think the author of the text must have so intended it, as also in *Disyease*.

⁹ This form is now quite obsolete as a conditional or future tense. It is probably the *es* before noted.

¹⁰ *i. e.* ‘Have it out with you.’

¹¹ The regular form still for all the persons of the present tense of *to say*. The sound is between *zess* and *zass*. The final *t* in the text is mere literaryism—the author of course wrote a *t* in *sayest*, and so of course must write *zest*. The same applies to *dest* in the same line. These *t*’s are sounded only before a vowel.

¹² *Is* in the text is precisely the same in meaning as the words spelt *ees* (line 2), and *es* (line 10). See note above. I believe it to be the nom. plur. used for the sing., as is still customary.

¹³ *Twar* is now quite obsolete. I have heard *tware*, but only from maid-servants or those who try to talk ‘fine.’ The form throughout N. Devon and Exmoor now is *twaz* when emphatic, precisely the sound of *has* in lit. Eng.

5 than Ount Annis Moreman¹ coul'd ha'² blessed vore,³ and net ha'² pomster'd about et, as⁴ Moather ded.

Thomasin. What disyease than, ya gurt Haggage!

Wilmot. Why, e'er zince tha wart Twonty, ay Zewnteen, and avore, tha hast a be' troubled wey the Doul vetch tha.

30 *Thomasin.* What's me-an by that, ya long-hanjed Meazle? Dist hire⁵ ma? Tha call'st ma sterling Roil now-reert. — How dedst Thee sterlee upon the Zess last Harest wey the young Dick Vrogwill, whan George Vuzz⁶ putch'd?⁷—He told ma the whole Fump o' th' Besneze.

35 *Wilmot.* O! the very Vengance tear tha!—Dest thee tell me o' Dick Vrogwill? — Why thee art in a Ninniwatch e'ery other Torn, nif zo be tha dest bet zet Zeert in Harry Vursdon.

Thomasin. How! ya gurt chounting, grumbling, glumping,
40 zower-zapped, yerring Trash!

Wilmot. Don't tell me o' glumping: Oll the Neighbourhooden⁸ knowth⁹ thee to be a veaking, blazing, tiltish Hussey.

Thomasin. And thee art a crewting, querking, yeavy, dugged-yess,¹⁰ chockling Baggage.

45 *Wilmot.* Net¹¹ zo chockling, ner it¹² zo crewting, as thee art, a

¹ This name is always thus pronounced. So also the village Morebath is always *Muur'buth*.

^{2—3} Elisions of the vowel *u*, i. e. the participial prefix, or when in rapid speech, the auxiliary *have* is shortened into *u*. If spoken deliberately it would be *kèod uv u-blas'ud, neet uv u-paum'sturd*. This form is very common, but it is impossible to determine whether the *u* standing for *have*, or the prefix, is the one got rid of. The *h* in *ha'* of the text merely conventional writing.

³ This word adds no force to the verb, but is, and apparently has long been a mere pleonasm. Scarcely ten sentences can be heard in the district without *voar* occurring somewhere.

⁴ I think *as* is an error of the original transcriber. No native would have used so literary a phrase, he would have said *sae'äm-z Mau'dhur daed*, or *eens Mau'dhur daed*.

⁵ This form is nearly obsolete, a very few old people still use it.

⁶ Furze is a very common name, and is always pronounced *Vuuz*.

⁷ Here the words being all more or less emphatic, the final inflexion would have a syllable to itself.

⁸ This is the old plural, quite obsolete. See W. S. Gram., p. 7.

dhan Aewnt Anrees Muur'mun¹ kòod u² blas'ud voa'r³ un neet u² 25
paum'sturd ubaewd ut, uz⁴ Mau'dhur daed.

Thomasin. Haut dees-yai'z dhan yu guurt Ag'eej?

Wilmot. Waay, ae'ür zúuz dhu wurt twuun'tee, aa'y zaewn'teen,
un uvoa'r, dh-aast u-bee truub'ld wai dhu Daewl vach dhu.

Thomasin. Haut-s mee'ün bi dhaat, yu laung-han'jud Mai'zl? 30
Dúst uy'ur⁵ mu? Dhu kyaals' mu stee'ürtleén Raui'ül naew-ree'ürt.—
Aew deds dheer' stee'ürtlee pun dhu Zaes' laas Aar'us wai dhu yuung
Dik Vraug'wee'ül, haun Jaurj Vuuz⁶ púch-tu⁷?—Ee toa'l mudhu woa'l
Fuump u dhu bez'nees.

Wilmot. Au! dhu vuur'ée Vai'njuns tae'ür dhu! Dús dheer' tuul 35
mee u Dik Vraug'wee'ül?—Waay, dheer' urt een u Nún'ëwauch
ae'ur'ée uudh'ur Tuurn, neef zu bee dhu dús búit zút zee'ürt een Aar'ée
Vuurz'dn (Fursdon).

Thomasin. Aew! yu guurt chaewn'teen, gruum'leen, gluum'peen,
zaaw'ur-zaap'ud, yuur'een Traarsh! 40

Wilmot. Doa'ün tuul mee u gluum'peen: Aul dhu Naay'burèodn⁸
nau'uth⁹ dheer' tu bee a yai'keen, blaë'üzeen, túl'teesh Uuz'ée.

Thomasin. Un dheer' urt u krüe'nteen, kwuur'keen, yai'v'ée,
duug'ud-yas,¹⁰ chauk'leen bag'eej.

Wilmot. Neet¹¹ zu chauk'leen, nur eet¹² zu krüe'nteen-zdheer'aart, u 45

⁹ An example of the use of the termination *th* in the plural. Compare
'Ancrén Riwe' (Ed. Camden Society):—

'vor þeos riwleð þe horte—

alse sum deð, alse 3e telleð me.'—p. 8.

'þe pine þet prisuns þolieð: þet heo liggeð.'—p. 32.

So also in 'Robert of Gloucester' and 'Trevisa' is found the same form.

¹⁰ *yess* has nearly lost the *y* sound amongst the lowest class in the Vale of
W. Somerset, but it is still common in the Hills, and in North Devon. I have
heard the word so pronounced in a half apologetic manner, by those who felt
its coarseness.

¹¹ *Not* in the sense here used, is at present always *neet*, and is the evident
contraction of *not yet* or *nor yet*.

¹² *Yet* is always *ee't*, and the *it* of the text is decidedly too short to convey the
sound to modern ears; but since throughout Devonshire *it* (pron.), *pin*, *kin*, *if*,
are pronounced *ee't*, *pee'n*, *kee'n*, *neef*, the original transcriber most likely intended
to represent the sound of the *i* in *it* as then spoken, and doubtless, then as now,
the same spoken word represented both *it* and *yet*. This is confirmed by note
to l. 110 of the text, where *eet* is given as an alternative spelling of *yet*.

46 colting Hobby-horse! Nif tha dest bet go down into the Paddick, to stroak the Kee, thee wut come oll a gerred, and oll horry zo vurs¹ tha art a vorked; ya gerred-teal'd,² panking, hewstring Mea-zel!—Thee art lick a skittish Sture jest a yooked.³ Tha woulst
50 bost any keendest Theng,⁴ tha art zo vore-reet, nif Vauther dedn't ha-ape tha.

Thomasin. Ay, ay! Kester Moreman wou'd ha be hove⁵ up, nif zo be⁶ a had a had tha; a toteling, wambling,⁷ zlottering, zart-and-vair yheat-stool.

55 *Wilmot.* Ay, and zo wou'd tha young George Vuzz, mun,⁸ whan a⁹ had a had a rubbacrock, rouzeabout, platvooted, zidlemouth'd¹⁰ Swashbucket. — Pitha dest thenk enny Theng will e'er vittee or gooddee wey zich a whatnozed, hagggle-tooth'd,¹⁰ stare-bason, timersome, rixy, wapper-ee'd Theng as thee art?

60 *Thomasin.* Dest hire ma?¹¹ Oll the Crime o' the Country goth, that wan¹² tha liv'st up to tha Cot, tha wart the Old Rager Hill's Under Bed-blonket. And more 'an zo,¹³ that tha wart a chittering, raving, racing, bozzom-chuck'd, rigging,
64 lonching, haggaging Moil.

¹ *Far* seems to have been, as now, unknown in either comparison—distance is *vuur'nees*. A man was giving me a direction across a very lonely part of Exmoor, and told me I should come to *tùe guurt eeps u stoo'unz baewt dhu vuur'nees uv u kwaur'tur mayruld uoar yùe kaumth tu dhu gee'üt*. 'Two great heaps of stones (two barrows) about the *furness* of a quarter mile before you cometh to the gate.'

² The *teal* of the text is not broad enough, even if *ea* = *ai*. I have heard very ignorant people talking 'fine,' say *tee'ül* for *tail*, *dee'ül* for *dale*, *pee'ül* for *pail*, &c., but there was clearly no affectation about Wilmot.

³ Probably *u-yuuk'ud* would more correctly represent the sound. In the hill districts the long *o* is sounded more like *oo* than the *oa* of the vales. Hence *yoke* is *yoo'k*—but *yoked* is more like *yuuk'ud* or *yook'ud*. In all these cases where the part. is emphatic the inflexion is a distinct final syllable *-ud*. (See W. S. G., p. 45.)

⁴ i. e. *anything whatever*, a very common phrase. Probably *any kind of thing*; *kind* is still *kee'nd*, so *oblige* is always *ublee'j*, *wind* (v.) *wee'n*; *blind* is constantly *blee'n*, *right*, *ree't*, as in the text; *shine*, *shee'n*. See text, l. 128.

⁵ I believe this to be the p. part. of *heave* with the prefix elided by rapid speech—uttered deliberately, this would be, *wúd u-bee u-oa'v aup*.

⁶ *If* when it signifies *peradventure*, is still *neef zu bee*.

⁷ The transcriber was certainly wrong in writing *wambling*—in all these words

koa'lteen Aub'ee-au's ! Neef dhu dús búit goo daewn een'tu dhu Pad'ik, 46
tu stroa'k dhu Kae'ee, dhee wút km aul u-guur'ud, un aul aur'ée zu
vuur-z¹ dh-aart u-vau'rkud ; yu guur'ud-taa'yuld,² pang'keen, eo'streen
Mai'zl !—Dhee urt lik u skit'eesh Stèor jest u-yook'ud.³ Dhu wúts
buust ún'ée keen'dees dheng,⁴ dh-aart zu voa'r-reet, neef Vau'dhur 50
ded-n aa'p dhu.

Thomasin. Aay, aay ! Kaes'tur Muur'mun wúd u bee oa'v⁵ aup,
neef zu bee⁶ u ad u-ad' dhu ; u toa'útleen, waum'leen,⁷ zlauteen,
zaart-n-vae'ür yee'üt-stèol.

Wilmot. Aay, un zoa' wúd dhu yuung Jaurj Vuuz, mún,⁸ haun u⁹ 55
ad u-ad' uruub'ukrauk, raew'zubaewt, plaat-vèot'ud, zuy'dl-muw'dhud¹⁰
Zwaysh-buuk'ut.—Pidhu dús dhengk ún'ée dheng wúl ae'ür vút'ee
ur gèod'ée wai zich u waut-noa'zud, ag'l-tèò'dhud,¹⁰ stae'ür-bae'üsñ,
túm'ursum, rik'sée, waap'ur-ee'd dheng-z dhee aart ?

Thomasin. Dúst uy'ür mú ?¹¹ Aul dhu Kruym u dhu Kuun'trée 60
gooth, dhut haun¹² dhu lee'vst aup tu dhu Kaut, thu wurt dh-oa'l
Raj'ur Ee'ülz uun'dur bai'd-blaun'kut. Un moo'ür-n zoa,¹³ dhut dhu
wurt u chút'ureen, rae'üveen, rae'üseen, buuz'um-chuuk'ud, rig'een,
laun'cheen, ag'eejeen Mauy'ul. 64

the *b* is always dropped—*stuum'leen*, *shaam'leen*, *raam'leen*, *gruum'-leen*, &c.

⁸ *Man* used in this way is a very common expression ; it has a half-defiant, quasi-abusive force ; it is nearly always used in a threat or rude contradiction, and would be spoken to a woman, as in the text, as readily as to a man. No one would think of using it to a superior unless a deliberate insult were intended. Compare 'Aneren Riwe' (Ed. Camden Society), p. 12, '*ich chulle schawe þe mon seið þe holi Michee.*'

⁹ The use of short *a* for *he* and for *they* (see W. S. G., p. 96) is no modern corrupt pronunciation. 'John of Trevisa' (ed. Morris and Skeat), p. 244, l. 50, writes, '*& seyde þat a moste spare þyngeþ þat scholde be hys ounē* : again, p. 245, l. 68, "*Nay," quap Harold, "hy bep no prustes, bote a bep wel stalword knyȝtes."*

^{10—10} In all these nouns used adjectively, the inflexion has the full syllable, as in the p. part. See note 3, p. 30. I think the transcriber inconsistent in having written some *ed* and others 'd, while, on the contrary, he writes *troubled*, which is pronounced *truub'ld*. If there be any exceptions to the above rule they would be when the noun ends in *l*, or a vowel, and hence I have written *waap'uree'd*, when I believe *waap'urce'ud* was spoken.

¹¹ Then, as now, threatening or abusive sentences very often began thus. Now this phrase, *Dost hear me?* is contracted into *Shuur mü?*

¹² Spelt *whan* elsewhere, in the text.

¹³ This expression is still very common = *moreover*.

65 *Wilmot*. How! ya confounded Trapes! Tell me enny more o' Rager Hill's Bed-blonket, ad! chell pull the Poll o' tha;¹ chell plim tha, chell vulch tha. Looks zee,² — Rager Hill es as³ honest a Man as any⁴ in Challacomb; — no Dispreise.

70 *Thomasin*. And do thee tell me o' sterling upon the Zess, whan George Vuzz putch'd,⁵ chell gi' tha a Lick; — chell lay tha over the Years wey the Vire-tangs. Ad! chell ting tha. Thy buzzom Chucks were pretty vittee avore tha mad'st thyzel therle, and thy Vlesh oll wangery, and thy Skin oll vlagged, with⁶ nort
75 bet Agging, and Veaking, and Tiltishness.

Wilmot. Bed-blonket akether*! Ha! zey zich a Word more chell cotton thy Waistcoat. Chell thong tha, chell gi' tha zich a strait⁷ in tha Chups†, ya Grizzledemundy.

Thomasin. Me a Strait in the Chups? Dest hire ma? Come
80 ancest me, chell pummel tha, chell vag tha, chell lace tha.

Wilmot. Thee lace ma? Chem a laced well-a-fine⁸ already⁹ — Zey wone Word more, and chell bresh tha, chell tan tha, chell make thy Boddize pilmee.

Thomasin. How a Man a zed!¹⁰ make my Boddize pilmee?
85 Ad! if e'er tha squeakest wone Word more o' tha Bed-blonket, chell trim tha, chell crown tha, chell vump tha.

¹ *The poll of thee* is a much more derogatory form of speech than '*thy poll*.' (See W. S. Gram., p. 13.)

² This expression is still very common = look here! voici! In this form, with the second person sing. it is defiant, or quasi-abusive, and would never be used to a superior = *Look! dost see?* The civil form implying deference is *Léokee zee = look, do you see?* (See W. S. G., p. 35.)

³ This must be an error of the transcriber accustomed to the literary style. I never heard a real native say *as honest as*; it should have been *so honest as*.

⁴ Another literaryism—this should have been *as other one = as ever a one; as any* is impossible. (See W. S. Gram., p. 25.) 'Robert of Gloucester' (ed. Morris and Skeat), 1 A. l. 533, writes, '*Ac noþer of is oþer sons*.' At present we should say, *nother one of his other sons*.

⁵ This word being emphatic there would be a lingering on the final consonant, which would produce quite a distinct syllable, *uh*. This will be found to occur frequently.

* (Note to Ed. of 1778.) Akether! means Quoth he! or Quoth her!

† (Note to Ed. of 1778.) Chups or Chucks, the Cheeks.

Wilmot. Aew! yu kaun'faewn'dud traep's! Tuul mee' ún'ée 65
moo'ür u Raj'ur Ee'ülz bai'd-blaun'kut, ad! ch-ül pèol dhu poarl
u dhu¹; ch-ül plúm dhu, ch-ül vuulch dhu. Lëok-s zee',²—Raj'ur
Ee'ül úz uz³ aurnees a mae'ün uz ún'ée⁴ een Chaal'ikum;—noa dees-
praa'yz.

Thomasin. Un du dhee tuul mee a stee'ürtleen pun dhu Zaes, haun 70
Jaurj Vuuz pích'tu,⁵ ch-ül gi dhu u lik;—ch-ül laa'y dhu oa'vur dhu
yuurz wai dhu vuy'ur-tangz. Ad! ch-ül ting dhu. Dhi buuzz'um
chuuks wur puur'tee vút'ée uvoar dhu mae'üds dhi-zuul dhuur'ul,
un dhi Vlaisysh aul wang'urée, un dhi skeen aul vlag'ud, wai⁶ noa'ürt
bút Agreen, un Vair'keen, un túl'teeshnees. 75

Wilmot. Bai'd-blaun'kut ukaedh'ur*! Haa! zai zich wuurd moo'ür,
ch-ül kaut'n dhuy wae'üskoat. Ch-ül dhaung dhu, chú-l gi dhu
zich u straat-n⁷ dhu chuups,† yu guur'zl-dimuun'dée.

Thomasin. Mee u straat-n dhu chuups? Dúst uy'ür mu? Kaum
unee'üs mee, ch-ül paum'ul dhu, ch-ül vag dhu, ch-ül lae'üs dhu. 80

Wilmot. Dhee lae'üs mu? ch-üm u-lae'üs wuul-u-fuyn⁸ urad'ée.⁹
—Zai woon wuurd moo'ür-n ch-ül búrsh dhu, ch-ül tan dhu, ch-ül
mak dhi baud'eez púl'mée.

Thomasin. Aew u mae'ün zaed!¹⁰ mak muy baud'eez púl'mée?
Ad! neef ae'ür dhu skwai'kus woon wuurd moo'ür u dhu bai'd- 85
blaun'kut, ch-ül trúm dhu, ch-ül kraewn dhu, ch-ül vuump dhu.

⁶ Error of transcribers, *with* was unknown.

⁷ Misprint in the text for *strat* or *stratt*. See Glossary.

⁸ A common expression = very fine—

'God him sente a wel feir gras.'

'Stacions of Rome' (E. E. T. S., Furnivall), p. 14, l. 416.

'þoru-out al Engeland.

he huld wel god pes.'

'Rob. of Gloucester' (ed. Morris and Skeat), 1 (A), l. 370.

The *a* in *well-a-fine* is, I think, euphonic; compare *wash-a-mouth*, line 138;
rubb-a-crock, line 56.

⁹ No trace of the *l* is ever heard in *already*.

¹⁰ A very common exclamation as a prelude to a remark which would lead
to the expectation that some *oratio recta* was to follow—nothing of the kind.
The text, in this, is thoroughly vernacular. Another very common form is,
Sae'üm'z dhu fuul'ur zaed, 'Same as the fellow said;' but we are never told
what the fellow did say—the phrase has no necessary connection with what is
to follow.

87 *Wilmot*. Why dedst thee, than, tell me o' the Zess, or it of the Hay-pook, as¹ tha dedst whileer? — Chell drub tha, chell curry thy scabbed Yess var² tha.

90 *Thomasin*. And why dest thee, than, tell me 'Isterday o' losing³ my Rewden Hat in the Rex-bush, out a whorting?⁴ And more and zo, that the young Tom Vuzz shou'd le-ave⁵ he's Cod glove!—Ad! zey a Word more o' the young Tom Vuzz, chell baste tha, chell stram tha, chell drash tha;—chell make thy Kepp
95 hoppee, wi' thy Vlanders Lace upon't.⁶

Wilmot. Vlanders Lace! What's me-an by that, ha-ah?⁷ Tell me enny more o' Vlanders Lace, chell make thy Yead⁸ addle. Chell up wi' ma Veest, and gi' tha a Whisterpoop, and zich a Zwop as⁹ shall make tha veel ma, looks zee!

100 *Thomasin*. Gi' me a Zwop?—Ad! chell gi' tha a Wherret, or a Zlat in the Chups,—or up wi' thy dugged Coats, and tack tha gre-asy¹⁰ Yess o' tha.

Wilmot. Thee tack me, ya unlifty, ill-hearty, untidy Mea-zel?—Andra wou'd ha' had a Trub in tha, nif Vauther hadent a
105 strad the Match.

Thomasin. How Dem! a Trub?—Go, ye rearing, snapping, tedious, cutted Snibblenose!—Th' art olways a vustled up in an old Jump, or a Whittle, or an old Seggard, avore¹¹ zich Times as
109 Neckle Halse¹² comath about:—Than tha wut prinkee.——

¹ Literaryism—should be *sac'ām-z* or *eens—as* is impossible.

² Here the prep. is emphatic, and is written *var* in the text; the vowel sound is precisely the same as in *war* in lit. Eng. Sentences very frequently end in a prep. like mod. Ger. Moreover, this prep. is often redundant, and then there is always a stress upon it. This custom is so inveterate that even people of some education constantly practice it. In a local paper of November 14th, 1878, I read in a signed letter, 'I have had three connections made with the common sewer, and in each case took care to ascertain in what state the sewer was in.'

³ I believe this also to be a literaryism—to lose is *tu laus* (*t* before vowel); losing is *lau-steen*. (See W. S. G., p. 47.)

⁴ The *w* has disappeared, except among the better class—*huurts*, *huur-teen*, only are heard among *Thomasin's* class. Probably the transcriber wrote *whorting* from literary habit.

⁵ The present form is *laef*—anything like the *leave* in the text is quite obsolete. (See W. S. G., p. 47.)

Wilmot. Waay dúds dhee, dhun, tuul mee u dhu Zaes, ur eet u 87
dhu haa'y pèok, uz¹ dhu daeds wuy'lae'ur?—Ch-úl druub dhu, ch-úl
kuur'ëe dhi skab'ud yaes' vaur² dhu.

Thomasin. Un waay daeds dhee, dhun, tuul mee' ús'turdai u 90
laus'teen³ mi rùe'dn aat een dhu reks bèosh, aewt u huur'teen?⁴ Un
moo'úr-n zoa', dhut dhu yuung Taum Vuuz shúd lee'uv⁵ ee'z Kaud
gluuv! Ad! zai u wuurd moo'úr u dhu yuung Taum Vuuz, ch-úl
bae'üs dhu, ch-úl straam dhu, ch-úl draash dhu;—ch-úl mak dhi kep
aup'ëe, wi dhi Vlaan'durz lae'us upaunt.⁶ 95

Wilmot. Vlaan'durz lae'üs! Haut-s mee'un bi dhaat, haa'ü?⁷
Tuul mee ún'ëe moo'úr u Vlaan'durz lae'üs, ch-úl mak dhi ai d⁸ ad'l.
Ch-úl aup wai mu veest, un gi dhu u Wús'turpeop, un zich u Zwaup⁹
sh'l mak dhu vee'ul mu, lèok-s zee'!

Thomasin. Gi mee' u zwaup?—Ad! ch-úl gi dhu u wuurr'ut, ur u 100
zlaat-n dhu chuups,—ur aup wai dhi dnu'gud Koa'uts, un taak dhu
gree'üsce¹⁰ yaes u dhu.

Wilmot. Dhee' taak mu, yu aunlúf'tëe, ee'ül-aar'tëe, auntuy'dëe
Mai'zl?—An'dr wúd u ad u truub een dhu, neef Vaudhur ad-n u-strad
dhu maach. 105

Thomasin. Aew Daem! u truub?—Goo' yu rae'üreen, snaap'een,
tai'jus, cunt'ud snúb'lnoa'üz!—Dh-urt au'laiz u-vuus'ld aup een un
oa'l juump, ur u wút'l, ur un oa'l Saeg'urd, uvoa'r¹¹ zich tuymz uz
Naek'l Aal's¹² kaum'uth ubaewt:—Dhan' dhu wút' praengk'ëe.— 109

⁶ This I am sure ought to be *upaun un*. The pron. *it* is never used in reference to nouns of the definite class. This is confirmed by the text throughout. (See also W. S. Gram., p. 33.)

⁷ This is the equivalent of the well-known *eh?* but in the west generally takes the broader form.

⁸ *Heal* though written *yeal* would not, I believe, have had a *y* sound, except for the close vowel preceding the long *a*. *dhi ai'd*, cannot be pronounced quickly without the *y* sound.

⁹ In rapid speech the *as* before *shall* would quite disappear.

¹⁰ *Greasy* would now be pronounced *grai'sëe*.

¹¹ This is still the common idiom for *until*; another equally common is *gin zich tuymz*. A man at Plymouth (Feb. 12, 1879) said to me, 'us can wait avore you be ready, Sir.'

¹² Halse is a very common name in N. Devon; it is always pronounced *Aal's* by the *Thomasin* class. *Neckle* is the usual abbreviation for Nicholas.

- 110 Thee hast a let the Kee go zoo vor Want¹ o' strocking.² It
a vore oll* th' art an abomination³ Pinchvart vor thy own
Eends.—Ay, ay! Shoort, Wilmot, shoort!-----Zwer thy Torn,⁴
or else tha tedst net carry⁵ whome⁶ thy Pad, and meet⁷ Neckle Halse
by tha Wey.—He'll meet tha in the Vuzzy-park⁸ Coander⁹
- 115 by Cockleert, or avore, chell warndy.¹⁰

Wilmot. Tell¹¹ ma one Word more o' Neckle Halse chell
skull tha, tha hassent a be' a skull'd zo vor wone while.¹² Ya
gurt Fustilugs! The Old Mag Dawkins es bet a Huckmuck to
tha. Zet tha about ort, why, tha dest Thengs vore-and-back,¹³

- 120 a cat-hamm'd,¹⁴ a vore-reert, and vramp-shaken,¹⁵ like a Totle.

Thomasin. How! ya long-hanged Trapes! Ya blowmonger
Baarge! Thee wut coal-varty a-bed† avore be voor days. Tha'rt
so deeve¹⁶ as a Haddick in chongy Weather. Or whan 'tes avore¹⁷ or
124 a scratcht the le-ast Theng out,¹⁸ or whan snewth, or blunketh,¹⁹

¹ A literaryism—the vernacular would be *laa'k*; *want* is scarcely ever heard in this sense—a *want* is the only name known for a mole (Talpa).

² Like *yoa'k* (see note, l. 38), so *stroa'k* is shortened by the added syllable to *struuk'een*, *struuk'ud* (intrans.): the *transitive* inflection not adding a syllable would be *strook't*.

³ Still a common expression for *abominable*. The *r* is distinctly sounded in all words ending in *ation*.

⁴ This expression is still very commonly used to women. It is equivalent to 'get on with your work.' A farmer's wife would say, *Zwuur dhi tuurn* to a maid who was idling at the wash-tub. It is clearly a relic of the time, not so long ago, when all country women were spinsters. Well within the present century, not only did they spin for home consumption, but for hire. This is implied in the text, 'carry home thy pad,' *i.e.* home to the employer, who gave out the wool to be spun, and who paid for spinning at so much a *pad* (q. v.).

⁵ *Curry* is a literaryism—the *y* is always dropped.

⁶ *Home* has no longer the sound of *w* in this district—but in Dorset and other Southern shires this is still common. In North Dev. and W. Som. it is *aum*—the precise sound of *om* in *Tom*.

⁷ *Meet, sweet, keep, peep, deep*, and some others have the *ee* short, something like the sound of *i* in *pit, knit*, of lit. Eng. Some, as *sleep, leat*, are *zlee'ÿp, lee'ÿt*.

* (Note to Ed. of 1778.) It (or Eet) a vore all, means, Yet notwithstanding.

† (Note to Ed. of 1778.) Coal-varty a-bed, to warm the Bed with a Scotch Warming-pan; that is, with Half a Fart-ling.

Dhee aast u-laet dhu kae'ee goo zee' vur wau'nt¹ u struuk'een.² Eet 110
 uvoa'r au'l,* dh-aart un ubaum'inae'ürshun³ púnchvaart vur dhi oa'ün
 ee'nz.—Aay, Aay! Shèo'ürt, Wúl'mut, shèo'ürt! Zwuur dhi Tuurn,⁴
 ur uls dhu taeds nút kaar'⁵ woam'⁶ dhi pad, un mēet⁷ Naek'l Aa'ls
 bi dhi wai.—Ee ul mēet dhu een dhu Vuuz'ēe paark⁸ Koa'ündur⁹
 bi Kauk-lee'ürt, ur uvoa'r, ch-úl waurnd-ee.¹⁰ 115

Wilmot. Tuul¹¹ ma woon wuurd moo'ur u Naek'l Aa'ls ch-úl
 skyèol dhu, dhu aas'nt u-bee u-skyèold zoa vur woon way'ul.¹² Yu
 guurt fuus'tiluugz! Dh-oa'l Mag Dau'keenz úz bú't u Uuk'munk tu
 dhu. Zaet dhu abaewt oa'ürt, waay, dhu dús dhaengz voa'r-n baak,¹³
 u kyaat¹⁴-aam'ud, u voa'r-ree'ürt, un vramp-shee'üpm,¹⁵ lik u toa'tl. 120

Thomasin. Aew! yu laung-an'jud Trae'üps! Yu blèo'maun'jur
 Baar'j! Dhee wút koa'l'vaart'ēe u-baid † uvoa'r bi voor dai'z. Dh-aart-
 zu dee'fs¹⁶ u ad'ik een chaun'jēe wadh'ur. Ur haun taez avroa'r¹⁷ ur
 u-skraa'cht dhu lee'üs dhaeng aewt,¹⁸ ur haun snèo'th, ur blaeng'kuth,¹⁹ 124

⁸ *Park* is constantly used as a name for pasture lands. I know many such names, as Broad-park, Combe-park, Higher-park, Park farm, &c., where nothing but pasture is méant.

⁹ Corner is always so pronounced; so *tailor* is *taa'yuldur*. (See also W. S. G., p. 19.)

¹⁰ *I'll warrant ye*.

¹¹ *Tell* is the equivalent of *say* or *talk*. *Aay yuurd um tuul'een tugadh'ur*. 'I heard them talking together.' *Doar'än tuul aup zich stuwf*, is the usual way of saying, 'don't talk nonsense.' *Aay yuurd um tuul aew wee bee gwai'n vur t-aew aard wee'ntur*. 'I heard them tell (*i. e.* on dit) how that we are going to have a hard winter.'

¹² *One while* means a very long time.

¹³ An equally common form still in use is *baak-n voa'r*, both signify *backwards*, or rather *back in front*.

¹⁴ *Cat* when emphasised is always *kyaat* or *kyat*.

¹⁵ *Shée'üpu'd* would be said at present. I suspect the *en* of the text is a literaryism. The *shaken* is a misprint for *shapen*, in 7th Edition 1771, it is *shapen*—*n* is always sounded *m* after *p*. (See W. S. Dial., p. 17.)

¹⁶ *Deaf* is one of the words in which the *f* is sounded sharp. I have no doubt of the *v* of the text being a slip of the transcriber. 'Deaf as a Haddock,' is still the constant simile throughout W. S., used for the superlative absolute of deaf. (See W. S. Gram., p. 22.)

¹⁷ Misprint in the text; *avrore* in Ed. 1771. See the Glossary. Compare Germ. *gefroren*.

¹⁸ Still a common idiom—the *out* has rather an intensitive force. 'A very small piece' is generally *dhu lai'stees beet aewt*.

¹⁹ Misprint in the text for *blenketh*. See Glossary.

125 or doveth, or in scatty Weather, or in a tingling¹ Vrost,
than tha art theeklifted,² and ba hang'd to tha.

Wilmot. And thee art a lams'd in wone o' thy Yearms,³ and cassent
zee a Sheen in thy Reart Ee.

Thomasin. Rex-bush! — Fath! tell me o' tha Rexbush,
130 ye teeheeing Pixy' — Es marl⁴ who's more vor Rigging or
Rumping,⁵ Steehopping or Ragrowtering, Giggleting,⁶ or Gam-
bowling than thee art thyzel.—Pitha, dest'nt remember⁷ whan
tha com'st over tha Clam wi' tha Old Hugh Hosegood, whan
tha Wawter was by Stave, how tha vel'st⁸ in, and the Old Hugh
135 drade thee out by tha vorked Eend, wi' thy dugged Clathers
up zo vur as thy Na'el,⁹ whan tha wart just a buddled?

Wilmot. Lock! dest dwallee, or tell doil? — Pitha tell
138 reaznable,¹⁰ or hold thy Popping, ya gurt Washamouth.

So ends the first Bout.

¹ Words ending in *gling* or *ging*, never sound two *g*'s, as in lit. Eng. *ting-gling*, or Lancashire *sing'ging*.

² The participial prefix omitted in the text—it could not be so by the speaker. See W. S. G., p. 49.

³ I never heard any *y* sound in *arms* when spoken alone, but when preceded by a close vowel in rapid speech there is the sound of *y*. The same applies to other words.

⁴ *Marvel* is thus pronounced—the *marl* of the text is not a true monosyllable; doubtless the transcriber was accustomed to sound the *l* more distinctly than is now common, and his orthography in that case is good; *marl*, i. e. *clay* is *maardl*.

ur doa·vuth, ur een skaat·ëe wadh·ur, ur een u teng·leen¹ vraus, 125
dhan dh-aart u-thaek·lúf·tud,² un bee ang·tu dhu.

Wilmot. Un dheer urt u-laamst een woon u dhi ae·ürmz,³ uu kas·n
zee u Shee·n een dhi ree·ürt ee·.

Thomasin. Raeks-bèò·sh!—Faa·th! tuul mee u dhu raeks-bèò·sh,
yu tee-hee·ëen pik·see.—Es maa·rul⁴ ùe·z moo·ür vur rig·een ur 130
ruum·peen,⁵ stee·aupeen ur rag·gruw·tureen, gig·lteen,⁶ ur gaam·
buw·leen-un dheer aart dhi zuul.—Púdh·u, dú·s·n rai·mūmbur⁷ haun
dhu kaumst oa·vur dhu klaam· wai dh-oa·l Yùe· Oazgèòd, haun
dhu waa·tur wuz bi stae·üv, aew dhu vaalst⁸ een, un dh-oa·l Yùe·
drae·üd dheer aewt bi dhi vaur·kud een, wai dhi dung·ud Klaa·dhurz 135
aup zu vur·z dhi naa·ul,⁹ haun dhu wust jist u-buud·ld?

Wilmot. Lauk! dú·s dwaa·lëe, ur tuul dauy·ul?—Púdh·u tuul
rai·znubl,¹⁰ ur oa·l dhi paup·een, yu guurt Waiy·sh-umaewf. 138

Zoa aínth dhu fuus Baewt.

⁵ *Romping* is still so spoken—so *Juub* for *Job*, *ruub* for *rob*, &c.

⁶ *Giggling*—this word is still pronounced with *t* in it. I heard a man abusing his daughter, call her ‘*yu gig·lteen yuung búch!*’

⁷ *Literaryism*—*remember* would be fine talk. Thomasin to Wilmot would have said *muyn*, ‘mind’—to the parson or a ‘real gentleman,’ *rai·mūmbur*.

⁸ Spelt *valst* in l. 169.

⁹ Navel—so *claa·ül* for clavel, *shoo·ül* for shovel, *graa·ül* for gravel.

¹⁰ This is a very common expression still = *talk sensibly*.

AN EXMOOR SCOLDING.

BOUT THE SECOND.

140 *Wilnot.* **D**IST hire ma, Dem? Chell ha tether Vinny wi'
 tha.—Tha told'st¹ ma now-reert, or a whilere,
 of² Rigging and Rumping, Steehopping and Ragrowtering, Giggleting
 and Gamboyling.³ What's me-an by thate?⁴ But thee, thee
 wut ruckee, and squattee, and doattee⁵ in the Chimley Coander
 lick an⁶ Axwaddle; and wi' the zame tha wut rakee up,⁷ and
 145 gookee, and tell doil, tell Dildrams and Buckingham Jen-
 kins. — Ay, ay, poor⁸ Andra Vursdon wud ha' had a rig-mutton
 Rumpstall in tha, nif tad net ha' be' strat.⁹ A wud ha' had
 a coad, riggelting, parbeaking, piping Body in tha! olwey wone
 Glam or nether. And more an zo, there's no Direct to hot tha
 150 tell'st.¹⁰ Tha wut feb et heartily.¹¹ Na, tha wut lee a Rope

¹ There is no sound of the *d* or the *t* after the *l* in this word.

² Literaryism—*of* = *uv* is only used before a vowel.

³ Spelt *gambowling* previously—I never heard *gamboyling*.

⁴ I have written thus in deference to original note to Ed. 1778, p. 1 of the 'Courtship,' but my opinion is that *thate* is much too long a sound to have been used; if not, it is now quite obsolete. (See W. S. Gram., pp. 29 to 32, on the use of *that*.)

⁵ Here the similar vowel sounds—*doax'tee een* = *doattee in*—of the text would in rapid speech be slurred together, as previously noted. (See note 5, l. 5. Also W. S. Gram., p. 27.)

⁶ Here, on the other hand, there is no such elision—but the distinguishing adjective *u* stands before a vowel as well as a consonant. (See W. S. Gram., p. 29.)

U AK'SMOAR SKOA'LDEEN.

BAEWT DHU SAEK·UNT.

Wilmot. **D**UST ny·ur mu, Daem? Ch·úl ae·ñ taedh·ur vún·ee wi dhu.—Dhu toa·ls¹ mu naew·ree·ürt, ur u wuy·ülae·ür, 140
u² rig·een un ruum·peen, stee·aupeen un rag·gruwtureen, gig·lteen un gaam·buw·leen.³ Haut·s mee·ün bi dhae·üt?⁴ Bút dhee, dhee wút ruuk·ëe, un skwaut·ëe, un doa·ütee·n⁵ dhu ehúm·lëe koa·ündur lik u⁶ aks·wad·l; an· wi dhu zae·üm dhu wút rae·ükëe aup·m⁷ gèo·këe, un tuul dauy·ul, tuul Dúl·drumz un Buuk·eenum Jing· 145
keenz.—Aay, aay, poo·ür⁸ An·dru Vuuz·dn wúd u·ad a rig·muutn ruum·psl een dhu, neef t·ad nút· u·bee straat.⁹ U wúd u·ad u koa·ud, rig·lteen, paar·baekeen, puy·peen ban·dee·n dhu! aul·wai woon glaam ur naedh·ur. Un moo·ür·n zoa·, dhur·z noa durack· tu haut dhu tuuls.¹⁰ Dhu wút faeb ut aar·ti luyk.¹¹ Naa, dhu wút lee u roo·up 150

¹ The *and* in rapid speech becomes shortened, and after *p*, *b*, *f*, *v*, is always sounded as *m*, as before noted, l. 120.

² The use of *poor* generally implies that the person spoken of is dead, and it does so very probably here; though there is nothing further in the text to confirm that view.

³ The participial prefix might be dropped in very rapid speech, or become scarcely perceptible, particularly when following another *p*. part. This word *strat* is the same as is elsewhere, *e. g.* l. 105, spelt *strad*. The former is the commoner form. Deliberately spoken, *net ha' be' a strat*.

¹⁰ *Tell* throughout the dialogues is used for *say* and *talk*. See note 11, l. 116; also l. 137.

¹¹ This whole sentence reads apocryphal—I never heard the word *fib* in the dialect, and no one ever heard *heartily*. Moreover the word *heartly* would not be used in this sense.

151 up-reert.*¹ Chad a most a borst my Guts wi' laughing, whan's
zeed tha whilere trapsee hum from tha Yeoanna Lock,² thy
Shoes oll besh—,³ thy Hozen⁴ muxy up zo vurs thy Gammerels
to tha very Hucksheens o' tha, thy Gore Coat oll a girred,
155 thy Aead-Clathing⁵ oll a' foust; thy Waistcoat oll horry, and thy
Pancrock a kiver'd wi' Briss and Buttons.

Thomasin. Why thare zo!⁶ Bet dist net thee thenk, ya
long-hanged Trapes, that tha young Josy Yeaff-field⁷ wud ha' be'
plasad, when ha had zitch a crewdling Theng as thee art? Eart
160 lunging, eart squatting upon thy tether Eend. Zey ort to⁸ tha,
why tha wut twitch up thy Teal, and draw⁹ up thy Noaze, and take
Owl¹⁰ o', or take Pip o'. Nif won¹¹ zey the le-ast Theng out,¹²
tha wut purtee a Zennet arter.

Wilmot. How, Hussey! ya confounded Trash! Dist remem-
165 ber¹³ when tha wenst out in the Vuzzey-Park, in the Desk o' tha
Yeaveling, just in tha Dimmet, wi' tha young Humphrey Hosegood,—
and how ha mullad and soulad about tha? Ha bed¹⁴ tha zet down;—
and tha zedst tha woudst net,¹⁵ nif ha dedent blow tha down. Zo ha
blow'd, and down tha valst. Who shud be hard by¹⁶ (vor 'twas in
170 tha Dimmet) bet tha Square's¹⁷ Bealy,—and vorewey ha' cry'd

¹ If this saying was ever common, it is now obsolete. At present this would be expressed thus—*Dhu wūt tuul luyz zu vaas uz u aw's kn gaal-up*, 'Thee wilt tell lies as fast as a horse can gallop.'

² I have made careful enquiry at different times, and from several persons, who know every corner of Exmoor and of the district of Parracombe and Challacombe, but can hear of no such place as *Yeoanna Lock*. I therefore conclude it to be a fiction.

³ *Beshūt'n.*

⁴ Now quite obsolete, but it was not uncommon so lately as fifty years ago. *Stockings* only are now heard of.

⁵ *Head-clathing* in Ed. of 1771.

⁶ This is still a common exclamation—of no particular meaning—like *Oh, I never! Good gracious! &c.*

⁷ Joseph Heathfield. (See W. S. Dial., p. 22.) A common name in these parts.

⁸ The *r* is always sounded in this word, but the *t* is dropped in rapid speech when followed by another *t*.

* (*Note to Ed. of 1778.*) To lie a Rope upright, contains a Pun on the Word *Lie*, and means the telling such a *Lie* as implies a Contradiction in itself; or what is as impossible to be true, as for a Rope which lies on the Ground to stand upright at the same Time.

aup-ree'ürt.*¹ Ch-úd umoo'ees buus mi gnuts wai laar'feen, haun-s 151
 zeed dhu wuy'ulae'ür tra'e'üpsëe uum vrum dhu Yo'a'an'ur Lauk,² dhi
 shè'o'z aul besh—,³ dhi oa'zn⁴ muuk'see aup zu vur-z dhi gaam'urulz
 tu dhu vuur'ee uuk'-sheenz u dhu, dhi goo'ür koa'üt aul u-guur'ud,
 dhi ai'd klaa'theen⁵ aul u-fuwst; dhi wae'üskoo'üt aul aur'ëe, un dhi 155
 pang'krauk a-kúv'urd wai brús -n buut'nz.

Thomasin. Waay dhae'ür zoa'!⁶ Bút dús nút dhee dhaengk, yu
 laung' an'jud tra'e'ups, dhut dhu yuung Joa'zee Yef'ee'ül⁷ wúd u bee
 plai'zud, haun u ad zieh u krè'o'dleen dhaeng uz dhee aart. Ee'ürt
 luun'jeen, ee'ürt skwaut'een pun dhi taedh'ur een. Zai oa'ür-tu⁸ dhu, 160
 waay dhu wút twích aup dhi taay'ül, un droa' aup⁹ dhi noa'üz, un tak
 owl¹⁰ oa, ur tak púp oa. Neef waun¹¹ zai dhu lee'üs dhaeng aewt,¹²
 dhu wút puurt'ëe u zaen'ut aart'ur.

Wilmot. Aew, uuz'ee! yu kaun'faewn'dud traarsh! Dús rai-múm-
 bur¹³ haun dhu wai'ns aewt-n dhu Vuuz'ee-Paark, een dhu dúsk u dhu 165
 Yai'vleen, jist een dhu dúm'ut, wai dhu yuung Uum'fri Oa'zgèod,—
 un aew u muul'ad-n suw'lud ubaewt dhu? U bai'd¹⁴ dhu zút daewn;—
 un dhu zaeds dhu wúts nút,¹⁵ neef u daed-n bloa dhu daewn. Zoa u
 bloa'd-n daewn dhu vaals. Ue shud bee aard buy¹⁶ (vur twuz een
 dhu dúm'ut) bút dhu Skwai'yürz¹⁷ Bee'ülëe,—un voa'rwai u krüy'd 170

⁹ *Draw* is always *drae'ü* = *trahere*, but *draa'* = *designare*. In Ed. of 1771 this word is *drow* = throw, doubtless the correct reading, *i. e.* 'toss up thy nose.'

¹⁰ This expression is quite obsolete.

¹¹ I believe this to be a literaryism—the indefinite pronoun is now always *anybody*. (See W. S. Gram., p. 38.) This should be *Neef ün'ee bau'dce zaeth*.

¹² The use of *out* in this sense is still very common—*Dhu lai'stecs beet aewt* means a *very small slice*. There is not the least connection with the modern Cockney *out*—'the finest thing out.' See l. 124.

¹³ I think *remember* too 'fine talk'—it would most likely be *dús myyn*.

¹⁴ This word is rare (though *forbid* is common); in the past tense it is still pronounced precisely like *bed* (cubile). The literary transcriber felt this, and so wrote it; but I doubt not that then, as now, it was sounded *bai'd*.

¹⁵ The negative being here emphatic, the *not* is fully pronounced; the ordinary form would be *dhu wúts-n*.

¹⁶ This is too literary. I never heard *hard by* used by a native—the usual form is *dhae'ür-buy*. (See W. S. Gram., p. 84.) *Neef twaud-n dhae'ür, twuz dhae'ür-buy*; 'If it was not there, it was close at hand.'

¹⁷ I think *Square* in the text fails to convey the sound—the diphthong is very long. *Bailiff* is often *bee'ülëe*, but more commonly *bae'ülëe*.

171 out that Oll Winavalls¹ belongad to's Measter. Wi' tha zame² tha splettest away—down tha Pennet—hilter skilter—as if tha Dowl had ha' be' in tha Heels o' tha.

Thomasin. Oh the Dowl splet tha! who told theekee³ Strammer?

175 *Wilmot.* Why, twos thee thy own zel up to⁴ stooling o' Terra's.

Thomasin. Oh! a Plague confound tha! dest tha thenk ees ded tell't to tha to ha' et a drode vore⁵ agen? Well 'tes well a fine.⁶—Es can drow vore worse Spalls than thet to thee:—Ad! es end rep tha up.

180 *Wilmot.* What, a Dowl, and be hang'd to tha, canst tha drow vore to me?

Thomasin. How many Times have es a hoard⁷ tha, and a zeed tha, pound Savin, to make Metcens,⁸ and Leckers, and Caucherries, and Zlotters?—Tes good to know vor why vore.⁹

185 *Wilmot.* Oh! a Plague rat¹⁰ tha!—Ya mulligrub Gurgin! ya shug Meazel!—Th'art good vor nort bet a Gapes-nest.—A gottering hawchamouth Theng!—Whan tha com'st to good Tackling, thee wut poochee,¹¹ and hawchee, and scrumpee; tha wut net

¹ A short syllable is very frequently inserted between two nouns when compounded, as in *windfalls*. My house is called *Foxdown*, but this is generally pronounced *Foxydown* by the labouring people. In Ed. of 1771 this word is *windfalls*—at present it would be *ween'vaalz*, but I have heard *ween'uvaaalz* occasionally. Compare *well-a-fine*, ll. 81, 178.

² The construction of this paragraph, except the literaryisms referred to, is excellent, and conveys an admirable notion of the idiom. 'With the same' is the nearly invariable expression, often repeated in every narration. It is a more forcible term than *instantly* or *immediately*; it conveys the idea of an action so quickly following as to be almost performed at the same instant as the cause.

³ In West Som. generally it is *dhik'ëe*, but in North Devon and Exmoor it is *dhek'ëe*, as in the text.

⁴ To when thus used implies *employed at or in the act of*. *Haun aay wuz tu pluween dhik'ëe vee'ül u graewn*—means 'When I was in the act of ploughing that field.' This gerundive form is very common, and has another meaning. See W. S. Gram., p. 80.

⁵ To drow vore is to twit, to rake up old offences. In the *Vale* district this is to *droa'æwt*. Some time ago some poultry was stolen from my premises, but the thieves were not caught. Subsequently a man said to me, *Aay kn tuul ee, zr, ñe ad yur vaew'ülz dhik tuym*. Indeed! who then? *Au! aay wuz een tu dhu Kaut'eej* (a public-house), *un dhae'ür wuz* — *un* —; *un dhai*

aewt dhut Aul ween·uvaalz¹ bilaungud t̃hē·z Mae·ŭstur. Wai dhu 171
 zae·ŭm² dhu splút·us uwai—daewn dhu Pen·ut—ŭl·tur skúl·tur—
 z-auf dhu Duwl ad u-bee -n dhu ee·ŭlz u dhu.

Thomasin. Oa dhu Duwl splút dhu! ũe,toa·l dhek·ŕe³ straam·ur?

Wilmot. Waay, twuz dhi oa·n zul aup tu⁴ st̃eol·een u tuur·uz. 175

Thomasin. Oa! u plaa·yg kunfaewn dhu! dús dhu dhaengk es
 daed tuul-t tu dhu t-ae· ut u droa·d voa·r⁵ ugee·ŭn? Wuul taez wuul
 u fuy·n.⁶—Es kun droa voa·r wús·ur Spaa·ls-n dhaet tu dhee·.—Ad!
 es kud rúp dhu aup.

Wilmot. Haut, u Duwl, un bi ang· tu dhu, kúns dhu droa voa·r 180
 tu mee?

Thomasin. Aew mún·ŕe t̃nymz uv es u-yuurd⁷ dhu, un u-zeed
 dhu, paewn saav·een, tu mak maet·sunz,⁸ un lek·urz, un kau·chureez,
 un zlaut·urz? Tez g̃eò·d tu noa· vur waay voa·r.⁹

Wilmot. Oa! u plaa·yg raat¹⁰ dhu! Yu muul·igruub guur·geen! 185
 yu shung mai·zl!—Dh-urt g̃eò·d vur noa·ŭrt bú·t u gyaaps-naes.—U
 guut·ureen a·rchuunaewf dhaeng!—Haun dhu kaums tu g̃eò·d taak·
 leen, dhee wút· peo·ch̃e,¹¹ un a·rch̃e, un skruum·p̃e; dhu wút nút

*daed·n zee mee; un dhae·ŭr dhai waaz u-droa·een aewt tu waun ur t̃iuul·ur,
 un zoa aay yuurd ũe sto·ld yoa·r vaew·ŭlz.*

⁶ *i. e.* 'it is all very fine' (obsolete phrase).

⁷ Nothing like the *hoard* of the text can now be heard. See l. 81.

⁸ *Medicines* still pronounced thus.

⁹ See note, l. 89. The emphatic prep. here spelt *vore* is precisely the same as *var* in l. 89. Occasionally this is pronounced very long, when final as in the text, but when so emphasised it may be taken that the preposition is always redundant.

¹⁰ *i. e.* rot—still always pronounced thus.

¹¹ This common word is pronounced thus. A former editor has felt *pochee* to be wrong, and hence has written *poochee* in the Glossary. In Ed. of 1771 it is *poochee* in the text. It may be well here to remark that this infinitive inflection, so frequently used in these dialogues, was no less common in the xiii. cent., as the following extracts from Robert of Gloucester, all taken from a few consecutive pages, will shew—

'Reign of Will. Conqueror' (ed. Morris and Skeat)—

'*He let gadery is kniȝtes.*'—l. 478.

'*& bigan sone to grony,
 & to febly also.*'—l. 490.

'*þat he ne miȝte ofseap̃ie noȝte.*'—l. 495.

look¹ vor Lathing, chell warndy;² and nif et be³ Loblolly, tha
190 wut slop et oll up.

Thomasin. How a Man a Zed!⁴ How dedst thee poochee and
hawchee, and serumpee, whan tha young Zaunder Vursdon and thee
stey'd⁵ up oll tha Neert a roasting o' Taties? pritch tha vor me!⁶
—Why, than tha wut be a prilled, or a muggard, a Zennet out-
195 reert; and more an zo, thee wut rowcast, nif et be thy own
Vauther. Nif tha beest⁷ a Zend to Vield wi tha Drenking, or
ort,⁸ to tha Voaken,⁹ whare they be shoolding¹⁰ o' Beat, handbeeating,
or angle-bowing,* nif tha com'st athert Rager Hosegood, tha
wut lackee an overwhile avore tha com'st, and ma' be¹¹ net
200 trapesee¹² hum avore the Desk o' tha Yeavling, ya blow-maunger
Ba-arge. Oll¹³ vor palehing about to hire¹⁴ Lees¹⁵ to vine-dra

'Life of St. Dunstan' (*ibid*)—

*'Hi lete hit do to Glastnebury
to norischi and to fede.'*—l. 26.

*'Serui he wolde poure men
þe wyle he miȝte deore.'*—l. 63.

These examples might be multiplied, but only in the last here given I
been able to find a verb having this inflexion used transitively, or rather in con-
nection with its direct object—and even in this instance, the peculiar construc-
tion seems to remove the object, and to imply that we should read, 'He would
serve (if those served were) poor men.' In Robert of Gloucester's time (1298),
we may therefore take it, that this inflection was, as it is to-day, affixed to
verbs only when used intransitively. See W. S. Gram., p. 49.

¹ *Wait for* or *expect*. Still a very common expression. A person unex-
pectedly paid for a service would say apologetically, *Shoa'ur aay daed-n lèok
vur noa jish dhaeng*; 'Sure I did not expect anything of the kind.' Compare
Acts xxiii. 21, also 2 Pet. iii. 12.

² *i. e.* 'I'll warrant you.'

³ This form of the conditional is most unusual. I incline to regard it as a
spurious literaryism—it should be *un-ee' tue'z*. The *and nif* is impossible—
the *d* is not sounded, and the two words are slurred into one, dropping one of
the *ns* as before explained.

* (*Note to Ed. of 1778.*) Angle-bowing, a Method of fencing the Grounds,
wherein Sheep are kept, by fixing Rods like Bows with both Ends in the
Ground (or in a dead Hedge), where they make Angles with each other, some-
what like the following Figure.



lèok¹ vur laa'theen, ch-úl wau'nd-ee;² un-ee'f ut bee³ laub·laul'ëe, dhu wút slaup ut aul aup.

190

Thomasin. Aew u mae'ün zaed!⁴ Aew daeds dhee pèò'chëe, un au'chee, un skrum'pëe, haun dhu yuung Zau'ndur Vuuz'dn un dhee steyd⁵ aup aul nee'ürt u roa'üsteen u tae'üdeez? pürch dhu vaur mi!⁶ —Waay, dhan dhu wút bee u-prúld, ur u-mug'urd, u Zaen'ut aewt-ree'ürt; un moo'ür-n zoa, dhee wút ruw'kaas, neef út bee dhee oa'n 195 vau'dhur. Neef dhu *beest*⁷ u-zai'n tu vee'ül wai dhu draeng'keen, ur oa'ürt⁸ tu dhu Voa'kn,⁹ wae'ür dhai bee shèò'leen¹⁰ u bai't, an·bai'teen, ur ang'l·boa'een,* neef dhu kaumst u-dhuurt Raj'ur Oa'zgèòd, dhu wút laak'ëe un oa'vur-wuy'ul uvoar dhu kaums, un mu bee¹¹ nút trae'üpsee¹² uum uvoar dhu daesk u dhu Yai'vleen, yu bluw-maun'jur 200 Baa'rij! Aul¹³ vur pau'leheen ubaew-tu uyur¹⁴ lee'z,¹⁵ tu vuyn-draa

⁴ *How* is constantly used for *as* and *that* (conj.) in connection with *say*—*Yùe ka'n zai aew yùe üv'ur zeed mee dhae'ür*; 'You cannot say *how* you ever saw me there.' *Uur zaed aew mäs'us waud-n aum*; 'She said *how* mistress was not at home.' The whole phrase is very common. See note, l. 84.

⁵ I never heard *stay* in this sense, it is always *bide*. I am not therefore able to write it in Glossic, and so leave it like the text. The only *stay* known in the dialect is the verb and noun signifying *support*. This is pronounced *staa'y*.

⁶ I do not understand this exclamation, nor does the Glossary throw any light upon it—to *pritch* or *pirtch*, *i. e.* to punch a hole with a smith's tool called a *pritchell*, has no connection with the sequence.

⁷ *Thou beest* is quite obsolete, if it was ever current, which I doubt. (See W. S. Gram., p. 55.) *Art* is used elsewhere. See l. 186, &c.

⁸ *Or ought* is a very common phrase, tacked on to any clause of a sentence, and usually means nothing. Here it adds nothing to the sense, as it does not necessarily imply that she might be sent to the field for other errand than to carry the allowance liquor.

⁹ This plural in *en* is now quite obsolete, nor can I find any one who remembers to have heard it. The work-people on a farm are always called *the voaks*, whether male or female.

¹⁰ *i. e.* shovelling the broken-up turf. Sods are called *tuur'uz*, *i. e.* turves, only when intended for house fuel. See W. S. Dial., p. 71.

¹¹ *May be*—still a common expression for *perhaps*, *probably*.

¹² This word used thus is peculiarly scornful, beyond the power of lit. Eng. It implies sloth as well as dirty untidiness.

¹³ This *all for* signifies 'entirely devoted to'—a very common phrase. *Uur-z aul vur flaa'wur-z*, 'She is entirely devoted to flowers.'

¹⁴ Obsolete.

¹⁵ *Lies* are still pronounced thus, but it is more common now to hear *lai'z*.

202 Voaks. Whan tha goast to tha melking o' tha Kee, in tha
 Vuzzy-Park, thee wut come oll a dugged, and thy Shoes oll
 mux, and thy Whittle oll besh—. Tha wut let tha Cream-chorn
 205 be oll horry,[†] and let tha Melk be buckard in buldering Weather.

Wilnot. Tell me o' Rager Hosegood, chell make thy Kep¹ hoppee.
 — Ay, ay, es marl hot to tha Vengance the young Zaunder
 Vursdon wud ha had a do² wi' tha, nif ha had a had tha. Vor why?
 Tha hast³ no Stroil ner Docity, no Vittiness in enny
 210 keendest Theng. — Tha cortst⁴ tha natted Yeo now-reert, or
 bet leetle rather,⁵ laping o'er the Yoanna Lock: (Chell tell
 Vauther o't zo Zoon es ha comath hum vrom Angle-bowing, don't
 quesson't). Hot ded tha Yoe do, whan tha had'st a cort en⁶ by
 tha heend Legs o'en⁶—(but vurst ha button'd;—'tes a Marl ted net
 215 a valled into tha Pancrock, as⁷ ha uzeth to do); but thof⁸ ha
 ded viggee, and potee, and towsee, and tervee,⁹ and loustree, and
 spudlee, and wriggled,¹⁰ and pawed, and wraxled,¹⁰ and twined, and
 rattled, and teared, vig, vig, vig, vig, yeet rather than tha wudst ha'
 enny more Champ, and Holster, and Tanbast wi'en, tha tokst en,
 220 and dest wetherly bost tha Neck o'en.

Thomasin. And nif tha dest pick Prates upon me, and tell

¹ *Cap* is pronounced *kep* throughout North Devon and the hill country of W. Somerset, but not in the Vale district.

² Here the transcriber tried to convey the elision of the *t* in *to* after the *d* in *had* by writing *a for to*.

³ This is too literary. I think it should have been in the text—'Tha hast net agot no stroil.'

⁴ *Caughtst* is a very doubtful word. At present it would be *dhu kaeched*.

† (*Note to Ed. of 1778.*) Horry—for Hoary, mouldy or finnew'd.—Vid. Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*; where Mercutio puns upon the Words Hare and Hoar:

'*Mercutio.* ——— So-ho!

Romeo. What hast thou found?

Mercutio. No Hare, Sir, unless a Hare, Sir, in a *Lenten* Pie,
 That is somewhat stale and hoar e're it be spent.——

An old Hare hoar, and an old Hare hoar, is very good Meat in *Lent*;
 But a Hare that is hoar, is too much for a Score,
 When it hoars e're it be spent.——'

Horry also signifies foul and filthy (see the *Vocabulary*); and, perhaps this is its true Meaning here.

voaks. Haun dhu goa'us tu dhu múl'keen u dhu kai'ee, een dhu 202
Vuuz'ëe-Paark, dhee wút kau'm aul u-duug'ud, un dhi shèo'z aul
muuks, un dhi wút'l aul besh—. Dhu wút laet dhu kraim-chuurn
bi aul aurree,† un laet dhu múl'k bi buuk'urd een buul'dureen wadh'ur. 205

Wilmot. Tuul mee u Raj'ur Oa'zgèò'd, ch úl mak dhi kep¹ aup'ee.
—Aay, aa'y, es maar'ul haut tu dhu vain'juns dhu yung Zau'ndur
Vuuz'dn wúd u-ad-u² dùe wi dhu, neef u ad u-ad dhu. Vur waay?
Dhee as³ noa strauy'ul nur daus'utëe, noa vút'inees een ún'ee
keen'dees dhaeng.—Dhu kaurts⁴ dhu naat'ud yoa' nuw-ree'ürt, ur 210
bút lee'dl raedh'ur,⁵ lai'peen oa'ür dhu Yoa'an'ur Lauk: (Ch-úl tuul
vau'dhur oa ut zu zèo'n uz u kaunth uum vrum ang'l-boa'een, doa'n
kwaes'n ut). Haut daed dhu yoa dùe, haun dhu ads u-kaurt-n⁶ bi
dhu eend ligz oa un⁶—(bút vuust u buut'nd; taez u maar'ul tad nút
u-vaald eentu dhu pang'krauk, uz⁷ u yùe'zuth tu dùe); bút thauf⁸ u 215
daed vig'ee, un poa'ütëe, un tuw'zee, un tuur'vee,⁹ un lèo'stree, un
spuud'lee, un vrig'lud,¹⁰ un pau'ud, un vraak'slud,¹⁰ un twuyn'ud, un
raat'lud, un tae'ürud, vig, vig, vig, eet raedh'ur-n¹¹ dhu wúts ae'ü
ún'ee moo'ür Chaamp, un Oal'stur, un Tan'baas wai un, dhu tèoks-n,
un dús waedh'urlee buüs dhu naek oa un. 220

Thomasin. Un-eef dhu dús pik prae'üts upaun mu, un tuul

⁵ 'Or but a little while ago'—*now-right* implies only a moment past.

⁶—⁶ Here are two good examples of the use of the masculine pronoun for a feminine noun. (See W. S. Gram., p. 32.) 'How is the cow?' 'Au! aa'y-v u-saard-n un u-tai'n un zu wuul-z úv'ur u kan; búd ee úd-n noa bad'r'—'Oh! I've served him and tended him as well as ever I can; but he isn't no better.'—March, 1879.

⁷ Two literaryisms in this clause—1, *as* is improbable; 2, the verb *do* would be omitted. It should be *sae'üm-z* or *eens u yùe'zuth tùe*.

⁸ Although. (See W. S. Gram., p. 94.) There are other examples of the *gh* of lit. Eng. being *f* in the dialect, *e. g.* *ought* is *au'f(t)*. See W. S. Dial., p. 74. Rob. of Glouc. ('Life of St. Dunstan'), ed. Morris and Skeat, p. 19, l. 15, has—

*'Ne non nuste wannes hit com,
bote purf oure Louerdes grace.'*

⁹ This paragraph seems to have been composed for the purpose of bringing in a string of words, many of which are synonyms, and it seems to me to exceed all probable repetition of the most verbose scold.

¹⁰—¹⁰ Most words written *wr* are now pronounced very distinctly *vr*, as *vruyt* (write), *vraeth* (wreath), *vrai'dh* (wreath), *vraung* (wrong), *wring* (wring), *vraach'eed* (wretched), and many others.

¹¹ Should have been *zoonder*, not *rather*.

222 Vauther o', chell tell a zweet Rabble-rote upon thee, looks zee.
 Vor when tha shudst be about tha Yeavling's Chuers,¹ tha wut
 spudlee out the Yemors,² and screedle over mun:³ And more and
 225 zo, tha wut roily eart upon wone, and eart upon another,
 zet Voaks to bate, lick a gurt Baarge as⁴ tha art: And than Getfer
 Radger Sherwell he must qualify't agen. When tha art
 zet⁵ agog, tha desent caree⁶ who tha scullest: 'Twos olways
 thy Uze; and chem agast⁷ tha wut zo vore⁸ thy Een. Tha hast
 230 tha very Daps o' thy old Ount Sybyl⁹ Moreman upazet.

Wilmot. Why, ya gurt Roil, chant¹⁰ zo bad's thee. Thee
 wut ha' a Hy to enny Kessen Soul. Than tha wut chocklee, and
 bannee, and blazee, and roundshave enny body that deth bet zey
 Ay to tha. Tha wudst buy tha Cot up to Town¹¹ rather than thy
 235 Live,¹² but tha hassent tha wharewey; and tha wudst kiss tha Yess of
 George Hosehood to ha'en; but tha hasent tha Why for Ay.

Thomasin. How! ya gurt mulligrub Gurgin?

Wilmot. And thee art a long-hanged blow-monger Baarge vor
 telling me¹³ o' Neckle Halse, and tha Square's Bealy, and tha
 240 Zess.

Thomasin. And thee art a convounded¹⁴ Trash vor telling
 me¹³ of an¹⁵ Under Bed-blonket, and o' pounding¹³ Savin,

¹ This is a very common word, pronounced *choa'r*, *choa'reen*, in West Som., but *chco'är* still in N. Dev. Written *char*, *charring*, in lit. Eng. Its use in the dialect is strictly in accord with its ancient meaning—viz. a *turn* or *job*, a *duty* or *service*. Vide 'Anceren Riwe,' ab. 1280 A.D. (ed. Camden Society), p. 36—

'þe þridde time riht also, and [þe] feorthe cherre, & te
 vifte cherre, & nout ne chaunge 3e.'

² Spelt *Yewmors* in Ed. of 1771.

³ The regular objective plural *them* of North Devon. See W. S. Gram., p. 37; also 'Courtship,' l. 416.

⁴ *As* would not be used thus—*eens* or *sae'ämz dhec aart* would be a more vernacular reading, but the whole clause is scarcely dialect; it is stagy.

⁵ The p. part. of *set* is always *u-zaut*. I think the *zet* of the text must be an error of the transcriber.

⁶ *Caree* is still used thus, intransitively, but Thomasin would have also said, *dhu dūs'n kee'är u peen*, &c., when using the word *to care* in a quasi-transitive sense. (See W. S. Gram., p. 49.)

⁷ *Agest* in Ed. of 1771, but I consider *agast* the proper reading.

Vaurdhur oa, ch-úl tuul u zwëet Rab'l-roa'üt upun dhee, lèoks zee. 222
 Vur haun dhu shèods bee ubaewt dhu Yai'vleenz Chèò'urz,¹ dhu wút
 spuud'lee aewt dhu yaem'urz² un skree'dl oa'vur mún:³ Un moo'ür-n
 zoa, dhu wút raay'lëe ee'ürt upun woon, un ee'ürt upun unuudh'ur, 225
 zút voaks tu bae'üt, lig u guurt Baarj uz⁴ dhee aart: Un dhan Gaet'fur
 Raj'ur Shuur'wuul, ee muus kwaul'ifuy ut ugee'ün. Haun dh-urt
 u-zaut⁵ ugang, dhu dús-n kee'üree⁶ üe' dhu skyèol'us: twuz aulwai'z
 dhuy yùe'z; un ch-úm ugaa's⁷ dhu wút zoa voa'r⁸ dhi ee'n. Dh-aas
 dhu vuur'ëe daaps u dhi oa'l Aewnt Súblëe⁹ Muur'mun aupuzút. 230

Wilmot. Waay, yu guurt raay'ul, ch-ünt¹⁰ zu bae'ud-z dhee. Dhee
 wút ae-u Haay tu ün'ee Kaes'n soa'l. Dhan dhu wút chauk'lee, un
 ban'ëe, un blaë'üzëe, un ruwn'shee'uv ün'ee band'ëe dhut dáth bú't zai
 Aay tu dhu. Dhu wúts baay dhu Kant aup tu Taewn¹¹ raedh'ur-n dhi
 luyv,¹² bú't dh-as-n dhu wae'ürwai; un dhu wúts kees dhu Yaes' u 235
 Jaurj Oazgèò'd t-ae-un; bú't dh-as-n dhu waay vur aay.

Thomasin. Aew! yu guurt muul'igrunb Guur'geen?

Wilmot. Un dhee urt u laung-an'jud bluw-maun'jur baarj vur
 tuul'een mee¹³ u Nack'l Aa'ls, un dhu Skwai'yurz Bee'ülee, un dhu
 Zaes. 240

Thomasin. Un dhee urt u kaun'fuwn'dud¹⁴ traarsh vur tuul'een
 mee¹³ uv ün¹⁵ uun'dur bai'd blaun'kut, un u puwn'deen¹³ Saav'een,

⁸ *i. e.* until thy end, as long as you live. *Voa'r* is constantly used in this sense. See note 11, p. 35.

⁹ *Syby* in Ed. of 1771, probably the true reading.

¹⁰ This form is quite obsolete. Now it would be *aay bae'unt*, or more probably *es bae'unt*. I think *chant* is an exaggeration of the author, in his desire to bring in the peculiar *ch* as often as possible.

¹¹ *i. e.* up in the village. The word *town* is applied to a very small cluster of dwellings—sometimes to a single homestead.

¹² 'Sooner than thy life' is a very common expression to denote extreme desire. *Rather* in this sense is a literaryism. *Wilmot* would certainly now say *zèò'ndur*, and I believe that to have been the idiom 100 years ago, from the fact that in other places, *e. g. l. 211*, *rather* is used to express *earlier*.

¹³—¹³—¹³ *Of* is nearly always used after the gerund—these should be *tuul'een u mee*, *puwn'deen u saav'een*.

¹⁴ I never yet heard *convound*, but *kaun'fuwnd* is very common. It is spelt *confound* twice before—ll. 164, 176.

¹⁵ *Oa u uun'dur* would be much more correct. The use of *of* and *an* are rather "fine" talk. (See W. S. Gram., p. 29.)

243 and making¹ Caucheries and Slotters wi't. Tha art a Beagle,
 Chun, pritch tha! vor anether Trick. Chad et in my Meend, and
 245 zo chawe still. Bet chawnt² drow et out bevore tha begen'st
 agen, and than chell.

Wilnot. Heigo! Mrs. Hi-go-shit!³ A Beagle? And hot
 art thee? Tha wut drew,⁴ and hen,⁵ and slat,—slat tha Podgers,
 slat tha Crock, slat tha Keeve and tha Jibb, bost tha Cloam.
 250 Tha hast a most a stinned e'ery earthly Thing in tha Houz. Ab-
 sleutely⁶ tha art bygaged. Ay, ay, Ount Magery was Death
 the near vor tha.⁷ Her moort⁸ ha' vet⁹ it, nif zo be tha hadst
 net let her totee up and down zo ort.¹⁰

Thomasin. Why there low! Bygaged! And hot dedst thee
 255 do bet jest now-reert? Tha henst along thy Torn, tha wud'st
 ha' borst en¹¹ to Shivers, nif chad net a vung¹² en, and pung'd en
 back agen. Than tha wut snappy, and than tha wut canifflee,
 and than tha wut bloggy.

Wilnot. And hot art thee? A brocking Mungrel, a skulk-
 260 ing Mea-zel!—And eet a vore oll* good vor nort bet scollee,¹³
 avore¹⁴ tha art a hoazed that tha cast¹⁵ scarce yeppe. Petha,¹⁶
 dest thenk enny Theng will goodde or vitte wi' enny zitch a Trub
 es¹⁷ thee art,—that dest net caree to zey thy Praers?¹⁸—bet—wut¹⁹

¹ This should be *mae'ūkeen u kawchureez*.

² *i. e.* I will not throw, &c.

³ Very common exclamation of coarse but extreme contempt.

⁴ *Drew* is a misprint, it is spelt *drow* (= throw) elsewhere. Here it is *drow* in the Ed. of 1771.

⁵ This is now the commonest word for *fling* or *throw*. *Drow* rather implies *to throw* down, and would be used in connection with heavier objects than *hai'n*. Roberd of Brunne (A.D. 1030), in his 'Handlyng Synne' (ed. Furnivall, Roxburghe Club), has, l. 5616—

'For þe stone he toke a lofe,
 And at þe pore man hyt drofe.
 þe pore man hente hyt vp belyue,
 And was þerof ful ferly blyþe.'

⁶ This is rather 'fine,' but it is possible.

⁷ *i. e.* near death through you. *For* often means *on account of*—'I could not speak for laughing.'

⁸ Spelt *merst*, l. 10. This form, *i. e.* *merst*, is very rare, if not obsolete.

⁹ *i. e.* *come round, fetched up, recovered*. See note 3 to Preface, p. 10.

* (Note to Ed. of 1778.) See Note in Page 36.

un mae'ŭkeen¹ Kau'chureez un Zlaut'urz wai ut. Dh-urt u bai'gl, 243
Chún, pŭrch dhu! vur unaedh'ur trik. Ch-ad ut een mi mee'n, un
zoa ch-aav stee'ŭl. Bút ch-oa'n² droa' ut aewt uvoa'r dhu bigee'ns 245
ugee'ŭn, un dhan ch-ŭl.

Wilnot. Haay'goa! Mús'us Haay'goa-sheet'!³ U bai'gl? Un haut
urt dhee? 'Dhu wút droa,⁴ un hai'n,⁵ un slaat. Slaat dhu pauj'urz,
slaat dhu krauk, slaat dhu kee'v un dhu Júb, buus dhu kloam.
Dh-ast umau'st u-stúnd ae'ŭree ae'ŭrth-lee dhaeng een dh-aewz. Ab- 250
slèotlee⁶ dh-urt u-bigae'ŭjud. Aay, aay, Aewnt Maa'juree wuz dath
dhu nee'ŭr vaur dhu.⁷ Uur moo'ŭrt⁸ u vút⁹ eet, neef zu bee dh-ads
núť u-lat ur toa'ŭtee aup-m daewn zu aurt.¹⁰

Thomasin. Waay dhae'ur loa! Bigae'ŭjud! Un haut daeds dhee
dhee bút naew-rec'ŭrt? Dhu hai'nst ulaung dhi tuurn, dhu wúts 255
u-buus-n¹¹ tu shúv'urz, neef ch-ad núť u-vuung¹² un, un u-puungd-n
baak ugyun. Dhan dhu wút snaap'ee, un dhan dhu wút kan'eelee,
un dhan dhu wút blaug'ee.

Wilnot. Un haut urt dhee? U brauk'een muung'grul, u skuul'-
keen mai'z! Un eet u-voa'r aul,* gèod vur noa'ŭrt bút skyèol'ee,¹³ 260
uvoa'r¹⁴ dh-aart u-oazúđ dhut dhu kas¹⁵ skee'ŭs yaep'ee. Púdh'u¹⁶
dús dhaengk úree dhaeng-l gèod'ee ur vút'ee wi ún'ee zich u truub
úz¹⁷ dhee aart—dhu dús'n kee'ŭree tu zai dhi prae'urz?¹⁸—bút—wút¹⁹

¹⁰ This passage is obscure. I think it means, 'She might have fetched yet [*i. e.* been living still], if you had not [through your laziness] let her totter up and down so often.' *Moort* is not an uncommon form of *might*—it is more emphatic than the usual *múd*.

¹¹ The *Torn*, *i. e.* the spinning-wheel, is spoken of here as masculine—*un*, -*n* = *him*. (See W. S. Gram., pp. 32, 36.)

¹² *Vung* is obsolete. The verb is quite common, but is now conjugated—pres., *vang* or (intr.) *vang'us*; past, *vangđ* or *vangud*; p. part., *u-vangđ* or *u-vangud* = to hold, to seize.

¹³ Spelt *scull*, l. 228; *skull*, l. 117.

¹⁴ 'Until thou art hoarse.' See note 11, p. 35.

¹⁵ *Canst scarce(ly)*. This would generally be *kas-n*, *i. e.* canst not scarcely.

¹⁶ Spelt *pitha* elsewhere—l. 57.

¹⁷ Here we have *es* doing duty for *as*; elsewhere it stands for *I*, for *us*, for *is*, and *he is*.

¹⁸ This should be *praa'yurz*. Perhaps these scolds talked a little 'fine' now and then.

¹⁹ The omission of the nom. pronoun is very common, and implies extreme familiarity or contempt, even more than when the second person singular is used. (See W. S. Gram., p. 35.)

strammee, and fibbee, and blazee, and bannee: And more an zo, wut
 265 coltee and riggee wi' enny Troluber¹ that comath² athert tha.
 And whan tha dest zey mun'³ tis bet whilst tha art scrubbing,
 hewstring, and rittling abed. And nif by gurt Hap⁴ tha dest zey
 mun at oll, thy Marrabones shan't⁵ kneelee,—thof tha cast
 ruckee well a fine.⁶—'Tes a Marl if e'er tha comst to Hewn⁷
 270 only to zey men;⁸ zence tha ne'er zest men, chell warndy, but
 whan tha art half azlape, half dozy, or scrubbing o'⁹ thy scabbed
 Yess, whan tha art a coal-varting¹⁰ abed,* ya gurt Lollipop!—
 Tha hasn't tha Sense to stile thy own Dressing. Vor why, et wel
 zet¹¹ arter tha, ether antlebeer¹² lick the Doorns of a Door, or
 275 wotherway twel zet e-long or a¹³ weewow, or oll a puckering.
 Tha zedst twos squelstring and whot¹⁴ while'er. Ad! tha wet
 be mickled and a steeved wi' tha Cold vore 'T Andra's Tide,¹⁵
 Chun, nif tha dessent buy tha¹⁶ a new Whittle.

Thomasin. Why, ya gurt Kickhammer Baggage! thee art
 280 good vor no Sauce.¹⁷ Tha wut net¹⁸ break the Cantlebone o' thy
 tether Eend¹⁹ wi' chuering,²⁰ chell warndy; tha wut net take et zo
 vreach, ya sauntering Troant!

¹ This epithet still common? Is it the parent of *trolloper*?

² *Camath* in Ed. of 1771, but probably a misprint.

³ *Them*, *i. e.* prayers. Spelt *mun*, ll. 224, 266, 268, *men* twice in l. 270, and *min* in l. 419. (See W. S. Gram., note 2, p. 37.)

⁴ Common expression = 'by great chance.'

⁵ This is a peculiar though frequent use of *shall not*, and it is equivalent to *never will* or *never do*.

⁶ *i. e.* 'though thou canst stoop down very well.' See note 8, p. 33.

⁷ I have no idea what the transcriber meant to be the pronunciation of *Hewn*; heaven is always *æb'm*.

⁸ *i. e.* 'only by saying them'—an example of the common use of the infinitive for the gerund.

⁹ Here the transcriber has inserted the usual *of* after the gerundive (see note 13, p. 51), but he omits the prefix. It should be *u-skrub'een u*.

¹⁰ I cannot explain this phrase; it is quite obsolete and unknown, so far as I can ascertain.

¹¹ In the Ed. of 1778, now reprinted, there is a clear misprint, *zet wel et*; in that of 1771 it is *et wel zet*. This is so evidently the true reading that it is adopted here.

¹² *i. e.* 'all across.' The simile is cumbrous, but therefore the more true.

* (*Note to Ed. of 1778.*) See Note in Page 13.

straam'ee, un fúb'ee, un blae'űzee, un ban'ee : Un moo'űr-n zoa, wút
 koa'ltee, un rig'ee wi ún'ee troa'luubur ¹ dhut kaum'uth ² udhuurt dhu. 265
 Un haun dhu dús zai mún, ³ taez bút wuy'űlz dh-urt skruub'een,
 eo'streen, un rútleen u-bai'd. Un neef bi guurt aap ⁴ dhu dús zai
 mún ut aul, dhuy maar'u-boo'űnz shaa'n ⁵ nee'űlee,—thauf dhu kas
 ruuk'ee wuul u faa'yn. ⁶—Tez u maar'ul neef ae'űr dhu kaums t-aeb'm ⁷
 uun'ee tu zai mún ; ⁸ zaenz dhu nae'űr zacs mún, ch-úl waurnd-ee, bút 270
 haun dh-urt aa'f uzlai'p, aa'f doa'űzee, ur skruub'een u ⁹ dhi skabr'ul
 yaes, haun dh-urt u-koa'l-vaar'teen ¹⁰ u-bai'd,* yu guurt laul-ipaut !
 Dh-as-n dhu sai'ns tu stuy'űl dhi oa'űn dras'een. Vur wuy, út ul
 zút ¹¹ aar'tur dhu, ai'dhur an'tlbee'űr ¹² lik dhu duurnz uv u doo'űr, ur
 waudh'urwai twúl zút ai'laung ur u ¹³ wee'wuw, ur aul u-puuk'ureen. 275
 Dhu zaeds twuz skwuul'streen un aut ¹⁴ wuy'lae'űr. Ad ! dhu wút
 bee u-mik'ld, un u-steev'ud wai dhu koa'l voa'r T-An'durz Tuyd, ¹⁵
 Chun, neef dhu dús-n baay dhu ¹⁶ u nèo' wút'l.

Thomasin. Waay, yu guurt Kik'aam'ur Bag'eej ! dhee urt-n noa
 gè'o'd vur noa saars. ¹⁷ Dhu wút nút ¹⁸ braik dhi kan'tle-boa'un u dhuy 280
 taedh'ur een ¹⁹ wi chèo'ureen, ²⁰ ch-ul waurnd-ee; dhu wút nút tak ut zu
 vraich, yu sau'ntureen troa'unt !

¹³ This *a* or *u* before an adverb is common, and is identical with the *a* in *askew*, *awry*, the lit. synonyms of *a weewow*—a word very frequently used in the dialect.

¹⁴ *Whot* in the text must be a misprint. There is no sound of *w*, and there never could have been.

¹⁵ St. Andrew's Day, November 30th.

¹⁶ This should have been *baay dhi-zúl*.

¹⁷ The text has but the ordinary literary negative. This is quite wrong—there would certainly be *two* and most probably three negatives in this clause, as written in the Glossic.

¹⁸ The negative here is emphatic, otherwise it would be *dhu wút-n*.

¹⁹ A common expression signifying 'you are too lazy to hurt yourself.' That *the tether* or *tother* is not a modern provincialism, but veritable English, is certain. Vid. 'The Stacions of Rome' (Vernon MS., 1370 A.D.), E. E. T. Soc., ed. Furnivall, p. 3, l. 79—

'*þat holy Mon • Ananias.*
Him crisnet • þorw godes gras.
And cleped him Poul • petres broþer.
For þe ton schulde • cumforte þe toþer.'

²⁰ See note to *chuers*, l. 223.

283 *Wilmot.* Heigo! sauntering Troant than!¹ vor why vore²
dest tell wone,³ than, o' tha Rex-bush,⁴ and tha Hey-pook, and tha
285 Zess?

Thomasin. And why vore⁵ dest thee drow vore zitch Spalls to me?—
Go pey⁶ tha Score vor tha Lecker tha hast a had zo ort in thy Teen-
ing Bottle.—There's a Rumble,⁷ Chun!

Wilmot. Nif tha young George Hosegood had a had tha, he murt⁸
290 a hozed in a little Time.⁹ Ha wud zoon ha' be' condidled.—Yeat
a-vore oll,¹⁰ a-vore Voak,¹¹ tha wut lustree, and towzee, and chewree,
and bucklee, and tear, make wise,¹² as¹³ anybody passath; but
out o' Zeert a spare¹⁴ Totle in enny keendest Theng.¹⁵

Thomasin. Why, thare's Odds¹⁶ betwe' Sh—ng and Tearing
295 won's Yess. Wone mussent olweys be a boosting, must a?¹⁷—
But thee,—thee wut steehoppee, and colty, and hobby, and riggy,
wi' enny Kesson¹⁸ Zoul: Oll¹⁹ vor whistering and pistering, and hoaling
and halzening, or cuffing a Tale.²⁰

Wilmot. Ad! tell me o' hobbing and rigging, chel vlee to²¹ tha
300 Kep²² o' tha. [Pulls her Poll.

Thomasin. Oh!—oh!—Mo-ather!—Mo-ather!—Murder!—
Oh! Mo-ather!—Her hath²³ a chucked ma wi' tha Chingstey.—Es

¹ *Then* is as common in every-day talk as *doch* is in German. The expressions are the exact equivalents of each other.

² This is simply the emphasised redundant preposition, = *for why for*,—quite distinct from the *voa'r* in *droa voa'r* just below, ll. 286, 309; the latter is an adverb. See note to l. 184.

³ The use of *one* as a pronoun is rare. The usual expression is *ün'ee baudēe*. (See W. S. Gram., pp. 38, 39.)

⁴ *Rush-bush* is still so pronounced except when a *v* is sounded—the common form—as *vraeks-bèosh*. (See W. S. Gram., p. 7.)

⁵ This should have been *Un vur waay voa'r*. See note to ll. 184, 283.

⁶ This would now be broad *paa'y*. I fancy Miss Thomasin must have been talking 'fine' if she said *pai*.

⁷ This is obscure. I think it means *there's your change!*—there's a Rowland for an Oliver.

⁸ *Might*, spelt *merst*, l. 10. Obsolescent, but still used.

⁹ *Time* is much too literary. She would have said '*in a little bit*,' but more probably '*a hozed in a quick stick*.'

¹⁰ *Nevertheless*—a very common phrase.

¹¹ *Before folk*, i. e. in the presence of strangers—still the regular idiom.

¹² i. e. 'make believe,' 'in pretence'—an every-day phrase.

Wilmot. Haay'goa ! sau'ntureen troa'unt dhun !¹ vur waay voa'r² 283
dús tuul woon,³ dhan, u dhu raeks-bèosh⁴ un dhu aay-pèok, un dhu
Zaes. 285

Thomasin. Un waay voa'r⁵ dús dhee droa voa'r zich spaa'lz tu mee?
Goa pai⁶ dhi skoar vur dhu lek'ur dh-ast u-ad zu aurt een dhi teen-
een bau'tl.—Dhae'ürz u ruum'pl,⁷ Chun !

Wilmot. Neef dhu yuang Jaurj Oazgèod ud u-ad dhu, ee muurt⁸
u-oa'üzd een u lee'dl tuym.⁹ U wúd zeon u bee kuundúd'kl.—Eet 290
uvoar au'l,¹⁰ uvoar voak,¹¹ dhu wút lèos'tree, un huw'zee, un chèo-rec,
un buukl-ëe, un tae'ür, mak wuyz,¹² uz¹³ ún'čebaudëe paa'suth ; bud
aewt u zee'ürt, u spae'ür¹⁴ toa'tl een ún'ëe kee'ndëes dhaeng.¹⁵

Thomasin. Waay, dhur-z audz¹⁶ twëe shuy'teen un tae'üreen
woonz Yaes. Woon muus'n aul'waiz bee u-bèo'sturëen, muust u?¹⁷— 295
Bud dhee,—dhee wút stee'aupëe, un koa'ltëe, un aub'ëe, un rig'ëe
wai ún'ëe Kaes'n¹⁸ Soa'l: Aul¹⁹ vur wús'tureen un pús'tureen, un oal'ëen
un aal'znëen, ur kuuf'ëen u tae'ul.²⁰

Wilmot. Ad ! tuul mee u aub'ëen un rig'ëen, ch-úl vlee tu²¹ dhu
kep²² u dhu. [*Pèolz ur poa'l.* 300

Thomasin. Oa !—óa !—Mau'dhur !—Mau'dhur !—Muur'dur !—
Oh ! Mau'dhur !—Uur-dh²³ u-chuuk mu wi dhu chee'nstai.—Es

¹² This is an undoubted literaryism—as in this sense is not used. *Haun* (when) or *eens* would be the vernacular idiom. (See W. S. Gram., p. 66.)

¹⁴ *Spare* is the usual word to express *slow, dilatory*. A 'spare workman' is a slow one. Gardeners talk of certain plants as 'spare growers.'

¹⁵ Common expression = *anything whatever*.

¹⁶ *i. e. a great difference*. A very frequent comparison is *dhik-s bad'r* (or *wús*) *bi audz* ; 'that one is better (or worse) by odds,' *i. e.* by a great difference.

¹⁷ *Must one?* the common form. (See W. S. Gram., p. 96.) A very good example of the use of this, the natural vowel, for the indefinite pers. pron.

¹⁸ This is a very common phrase. Ben Jonson has ('Tale of a Tub,' Act II. sc. ii.)—

'*Clay*. No, as I am a Kyrin soul, would I were,' &c.

¹⁹ See note to l. 201.

²⁰ *Tale* is a word seldom heard. Here in the text, and whenever now employed in the dialect, it means *piece of scandal*. At present the word more commonly used is *stoar* (story)—'There's a pretty stoar about her.'

²¹ Always *fly to*, not *at*.

²² *Cap* is pronounced very short, almost *kp*, in N. Dev.

²³ *Hath* is quite literary—the pronunciation is always *uur-dh*. *Eedh* = he hath.

303 verly bleive es chell¹ ne'er vet² et.—And nif's don't vet et, looks
zee, in a Twelvemonth and a Dey,³ Cuzzen Kester Broom chell¹ zee
305 tha a trest up a Ground.⁴—He chell¹ zee tha zwinged, fath!⁵

Enter the Old Julian Moreman.

Julian. Labbe, labbe, Soze,⁶ labbe.—Gi' o'er, gi' o'er; *—Tam-
zen and Thee be olweys wother egging or veaking,⁷ jawing or
sneering, blazing or racing, kerping or speaking euted,
chittering⁸ or drowing vore o' Spalls, purting or jowering,
310 yering or chounting, taking Owl o' wone Theng or Pip o'
tether, chockling or pooching, ripping up or roundshaving
wone tether,⁹ stivering or grizzling, tacking or busking,
a prilled or a muggard, blogging or glumping, rearing or snap-
ping, vrom Candle-douting to Candle-teening¹⁰ in tha Yeavling,—
315 gurt Hap else.¹¹

So ends the SCOLDING.

¹—¹—¹ This must be wrong. According to the text it would read *I I shall*. Instead of *chell* it should be *shall* in the text. In Ed. of 1771 it is *shell*, the true reading.

² See note to *vüt*, l. 253.

³ This is in reference to the old custom of sentencing women to be hung after a twelvemonth and a day.

⁴ *i. e.* trussed up above ground—hanged.

⁵ Still the commonest of all expressions of asseveration = *by my faith*. (See W. S. Dialect, p. 95.)

⁶ The transcriber is quite correct in spelling this word with *s* and not *z* (see W. S. Dialect, p. 73), but it should have been *soce*, not *soze*.

⁷ This word being quite obsolete, I do not know if it is *vee'äkeen* or *vai'keen*.

⁸ This is a common word. Vide John of Trevisa, 'Description of Britain, De incolarum linguis' (ed. Morris and Skeat), p. 241—

'*Mellyng furst wiþ Danes & afterward wiþ Normans. in menyne þe contray longage ys aþeyred, & som vsep strange wlaßfynge, chyteryng, harryng & garryng, grisbittynge.*'

By this we see that the use of strings of participles is by no means peculiar to the last century or to the 'Exmoor Scolding,' especially considering the above is an extract from the sober literature of the period (1387).

* (Note to Ed. of 1778.) Speaking to *Wilmot*, who had pulled *Thomasin's* Cap.

vuur'lee blai'v es shúl¹ núv'ur vút² ut.—Un neefs doar'n vút ut, lèok-s 303
 zee; een u twuul-muunth un u dai,³ Kuuz'n Kaes'tur Brèom sh-l¹ zee
 dhu u-trúst aup u graewnd.⁴—Ee shl¹ zee dhu-zwingd, faa'th!⁵ 305

Ai'ntur dh-oa'l Jùe'l-yun Muur'mun.

Julian. Lab'ee, lab'ee, soa'üs,⁶ lab'ee.—Gi oa'ür, gi'oa'ür:* Taam-
 zeen un dhee bee aul'waiz wuudh'ur ag'een ur vee'ükeen,⁷ jau'een ur
 snee'üreen, blae'üzeen ur rae'üseen, kyuur'peen ur spai'keen kuut'ud,
 chút'ureen⁸ ur droa'een voa'r u spaa'lz, puur'teen ur jaar'wureen,
 yuur'een ur chaewn'teen, tak'een Owl u wan dhaeng ur púp u 310
 taedh'ur, chauk'leen ur pèo'cheen, rúp'een aup ur raewn'shee'veen
 wan taedh'ur,⁹ stív'ureen ur guur'zleen, taak'een ur buus'keen,
 u-prúld ur u-muug'urd, blaug'een ur gluum'peen, rae'üreen ur snaap'-
 een, vrum kan'l-duw'teen tu kan'l-teen'een¹⁰ een dhu Yai'vléen,—
 guurt haap uuls.¹¹ 315

Zoa ai'nz dhu S K O A · L D E E N.

⁹ *One another.* The more common form is *wan ur taedh'ur*.

¹⁰ *i. e.* candle-lighting, the evening. To *teen* a light is still a common expression. We find the word twice in the 'Life of St. Dunstan,' Rob. of Glouc., 1298 A.D. (ed. Morris and Skeat), pp. 19, 20. Speaking of his mother's miraculous taper—

'per-of hi tende here lizt.

Alle in þe place.

What was þat oure Louerd Crist.

þe lizt fram heuene sende.

& þat folc þat stod aboute.

Here taperes þerof tende.'

In both places the verb is in the past tense. The *e* may have been pronounced long, and if so it is identical with our *teen*.

¹¹ This is quite vernacular and very common. It is here the alternative of the *always* at the beginning of this long sentence,—*i. e.* *always, either, &c., &c.*—*great chance if otherwise.*

POSTSCRIPT.

THE whole of the foregoing pages were in type and printed before I had an opportunity of comparing the later editions with the earlier ones. I had two or three editions in my possession, one of which was a copy formerly belonging to Sir F. Madden; in this are many notes in his handwriting, and signed by him; from which I gave extracts in my Preface. I believed that I might rely in the main upon so careful a person, especially when he made so positive a statement as that quoted in my note to p. 11; and I therefore took it for granted, that as there were but very few and slight variations between Sir F. Madden's copy of 1771 and mine of 1788, from which the text is reprinted, I might accept his assertion as substantially correct, although I ventured in my note (p. 11) to question its entire accuracy. Relying upon Sir F. Madden I suffered the proofs which I had read to be printed—but having now compared the reprint with the First Edition as it appeared in the Gentleman's Magazine, the Third edition in the Bodleian, and the Fourth in the British Museum, I find that I am obliged to subjoin the following list of variations, which will be found to be strangely opposed to Sir F. Madden's statement. Fortunately the Courtship was not so far advanced—consequently the most important of different readings are dealt with in the notes. It is true that the variations are generally confined to single letters in the spelling of words, and may therefore have been thought trifling, but in a great many cases the student will find the change of much importance. In the very first line is a case in point—the second *vor*, I knew well, must be accentuated, and therefore in writing it into Glossic had so marked it. The author knew this too, and so wrote in his First Edition, *vor why vore*. Again, in l. 104, the

first Four Editions have *nif's vauther*, which means *if his father* instead of the *nif vauther* found in the later editions. *If father* of course implies *our father*. The difference is immense; in the first case the taunt is conveyed that '*his father prevented the match, because you were not good enough for his son.*' In the later text all this piquancy of abuse is diluted by making it appear that the father of Thomasin, whom Wilmot is abusing, had prevented it.

On the other hand, some of the variations are undoubted corrections of much value.

In the following list the readings (unless specially referred to) are those of the First, Third, and Fourth Editions, which are dated respectively 1746, 1746 (three editions in one year), and 1750; of these, the two latter are almost exact reprints of the former.

The figures opposite each line denote which edition, in my opinion, has the true reading, if the difference is of any moment.

In many cases my notes upon the text will be found to be entirely confirmed by earlier readings.

Line		Line	
1	<i>read vor why vore</i>	1	76-8 <i>read zitch for zich</i>
3	„ <i>zitch for zich</i>	77	„ <i>wastecoat for waistecoat</i>
4	„ <i>betoatled for betwatled</i>	1	78-9 <i>strat for strait</i>
11	„ <i>will'st for wutt</i>	9	82 „ <i>tann for tan</i>
11	„ <i>bet for but</i>	1	85 „ <i>add for ad</i>
12	„ <i>zee where for zee nif</i>	1	85 „ <i>squeak'st for squeakest</i>
16	„ <i>zwopping for zwapping</i>	1	90 „ <i>dedst for dest</i>
18	„ <i>is for ise</i>	1	91 „ <i>losting for losing</i>
21	„ <i>ghowering for jowering</i>		92 „ <i>out to for out a</i>
28	„ <i>tonty for twonty</i>	9	93 „ <i>a word for zey a word</i>
30	„ <i>meazel for meazle</i>		98 „ <i>zitch for zich</i>
32	„ <i>zest for zess</i>	9	104 „ <i>nif's vauther for nif</i>
40	„ <i>zower-zwaped</i>	9	„ <i>vauther</i>
42	„ <i>know for knowth</i>	9	105 „ <i>strat for strad, IV. ed. only</i>
43	„ <i>heavy for yeavy</i>	1	106 „ <i>ya for ye, I. and III. ed. ;</i>
46	„ <i>hobbey for hobby</i>		„ <i>ye in IV.</i>
50	„ <i>vore-reert for vore-reet</i>	1	107 „ <i>olweys for always</i>
54	„ <i>he-at-stool for yheatstool</i>	9	112 „ <i>ay, ya ! for ay, ay !</i>
55	„ <i>chum for mun</i>		120 „ <i>vramp-shapen for vramp-</i>
57	„ <i>think for thenk</i>	9	„ <i>shaken</i>
58	„ <i>haggage-tooth'd for haggel</i>		122 „ <i>bevore for bevoor</i>
	„ <i>tooth'd</i>	9	123 „ <i>zo for so</i>
73	„ <i>thy zell for thyzel</i>		123 „ <i>avoore for avore</i>

Line		Line	
127	<i>read</i> can'st net <i>for</i> cassent 9	218	<i>read</i> yet <i>for</i> yeet
128	„ reert <i>for</i> reart	220	„ dedst <i>for</i> dest 1
130	„ ya <i>for</i> ye 1	224	„ yewmors <i>for</i> yemors 1
133	„ comest <i>for</i> com'st	224	„ men <i>for</i> mun
134	„ wos <i>for</i> was	229	„ agest <i>for</i> agast 9
138	„ reaznable <i>for</i> reaznable	229	„ wut vore <i>for</i> wut zo vore, in
143	„ doatee <i>for</i> doattee		IV. ed. only 4
143	„ chimly <i>for</i> chimley	229	„ an a'en <i>for</i> thy een 9
150	„ herrtily <i>for</i> heartily	230	„ old muxy Ount Sybly 1
151	„ out-reert <i>for</i> up-reert 1	235	„ yess o' <i>for</i> yess of 1
151	„ borst <i>for</i> bust 9	237	„ ya mulligrub <i>for</i> ya gurt
152	„ trapesee <i>for</i> trapsee 1	242	„ pounding o' savin 1
155	„ head <i>for</i> aead 1	245	„ drow't <i>for</i> drow'et 1
158—238	long-hanjed <i>for</i> long	247	„ Mrs. Ili-go-shit-a-beagle ! 1
	hanged 1	248	„ drow <i>for</i> drew 1
159	„ placad <i>for</i> plasad 9	250	„ e'ry <i>for</i> e'ery
159	„ crowdling <i>for</i> crewdling 9	250	„ houze <i>for</i> houz
160	„ lundging <i>for</i> lunging	251	„ abseutly <i>for</i> absleutly 9
161	„ twitch <i>for</i> twich	252	„ et <i>for</i> it
161	„ drow <i>for</i> draw 1	254	„ dest <i>for</i> dedst 1
162	„ tha <i>for</i> the least	256	„ chat <i>for</i> chad 9
163	„ zinnet <i>for</i> zennet 9	257	„ cunniflee <i>for</i> caniflee
166	„ jest <i>for</i> just 1	263	„ as <i>for</i> es 1
168	„ ded net <i>for</i> dedent	263	„ cary <i>for</i> caree
171	„ windvalls <i>for</i> winavalls 9	266—268	men 'tes <i>for</i> mun' tis 1
178—179	I <i>for</i> es	267	„ ritling <i>for</i> rittling
184	„ slotters <i>for</i> zlotters	273	„ et twul <i>for</i> et wel 1
188	„ tha <i>for</i> the	275	„ wotherwey twul zet along 1
196—212—222	veather <i>for</i> vauther	275	„ weewow <i>for</i> a weewow 9
197	„ or hand-beating <i>for</i>	276	„ wut <i>for</i> wet
	ghandbeeating	278	„ dest net <i>for</i> dessent 9
202	„ goest <i>for</i> goast	280	„ sauze <i>for</i> sauce
207	„ ees <i>for</i> es 1	280	„ tha <i>for</i> the
210	„ nated <i>for</i> natted	283	„ Higo ! <i>for</i> Heigo !)
211	„ leet <i>for</i> leetle 1	284	„ dedst <i>for</i> dest
212	„ cometh <i>for</i> comath	286	„ zetch <i>for</i> zitch 1
213	„ question't <i>for</i> quesson't 9	289	„ ha <i>for</i> he 1
213	„ yeo <i>for</i> yoe	290	„ it <i>for</i> yeet 1
213	„ be <i>for</i> by [o'en	292	„ and <i>for</i> but 1
214	„ heend legs <i>for</i> heend legs	293	„ toatle <i>for</i> totle 1
214—215	bet <i>for</i> but	295	„ wone's <i>for</i> won's
214	„ tad <i>for</i> ted	295	„ must net <i>for</i> mussent' 9
215	„ as uzeth <i>for</i> as ha uzeth	296	„ steehoppy <i>for</i> steehoppee
217	„ wraxled and rattled—'and	300	„ kepp <i>for</i> kep
	twinned' in III. ed. only	302	„ ees <i>for</i> es 1

Line			Line
304	<i>read</i>	shall see <i>for</i> chell zee	1
306	„	Gi' o'er, gi' o'er, Tam'zen. And thee be—	
307	„	agging <i>for</i> egging	1
307	„	gawing <i>for</i> jawing	9
308	<i>read</i>	sherking <i>for</i> sneering	1
309	„	ghowering <i>for</i> jowering	
311	„	t'ather <i>for</i> tether	1
312	„	grizzeling <i>for</i> grizzling	
314	„	yeaveling <i>for</i> yeavling	

While collating these early texts of the “Scolding” and “Courtship,” I came upon the letters by Devoniensis referred to in pp. 9, 10. These letters are so important, and the original Vocabulary referred to in them never having been reprinted, it has been thought best to reproduce them in full, even though a portion of the matter will be found to be repeated in the Notes and Vocabulary issued with the Seventh Edition (1771).

August 1746.—*Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. xvi. p. 405.

“*Exon*, Aug. 12, 1746.

“MR. URBAN.

“ON perusing those curious pieces, the EXMOOR COURTSHIP and SCOLDING, in your Magazines, I find several words marked with an asterisk, as wanting an explanation; and having heretofore liv'd a good while within a few miles of the forest of Exmoor* where that dialect is spoken, and heard a good deal of it, I well remember in what sense all those words are used; which induc'd me to draw up the inclos'd Vocabulary, for the service of your readers in other parts, and perhaps it may afford some help to their understanding of old books.

“I have added several words that are not to be found in either the Exmoor Scolding or Courtship (though not less common in that quarter), and I believe I could recollect as many more if they would be acceptable. You will in this vocabulary find all the words that you have mark'd, and you may depend on the truth of my explanation of every one except two, of which being in doubt, I have mark'd them with a Q. (Boneshave—horry). It may not be amiss to observe that tho' it is call'd a Devonshire Dialect it is not the dialect of the whole county, and that it would be as unintelligible to the inhabitants of the southern parts of it as to a citizen of London. Every county, doubtless, has its peculiar dialect, which, among the vulgar, and those who are far removed from the more considerable towns, is generally barbarous enough; and therefore Devonshire is no more to be ridiculed on that account, than any other large county: for I dare affirm that there is as good English in general spoken in some parts of Devonshire as in any part of England.

* This forest is in Somersetshire, and is called Exmoor from the river Ex having there its rise.

"I can't help observing that the Transcriber of the *Exmoor Courtship* has committed some blunders, having used the word *Thek* in many places where an *Exmoorian* would have said *That*, and the *V* instead of *F*, &c. For though it be very common with them to change *F* into *V*, *S* into *Z*, *Th* into *D*, &c., yet there are a great many words in which they never make this change, as *Flash*, *Fashion*, *Fine*, *Sea*, *Soul*, *Sad*, *Sarrant* (i. e. *Servant*), *Third*, and many others. It should be observed that they use *To* instead of *At*; *Ise*, *ees*, and *ich* for *I*; *I cham* or *'cham* for *I am*; *'Chell* for *I shall*, &c.; which was once the general mode of proper speaking throughout the kingdom, and may be found in many ancient *English* authors.

"I am, &c.

"DEVONIENSIS."

A VOCABULARY of the EXMOOR DIALECT containing all such words in the *Exmoor Scolding* and *Courtship*, the meaning of which does not appear by the sense; with the addition of some others; all accented on their proper syllables, to show the Method of their Pronunciation. (With NOTES.)

Ag'est, or ag'ast, afraid.

* Agging, *murmuring, raising quarrels.*

* 'egging, or 'egging-on, is an expression frequently used in most counties, perhaps, to spur on, from *aigu*, *Fr.* a point of a spur, or needle.

'Alkithole, a fool, a silly oaf.

'Allernbatch (probably of *Allderp*, elder, and *Bosse*, a botch), a kind of botch or old sore.

A-pu'rt, sullen.

Aqu'ott, see *Quott*.

Art, eight.

Arteen, eighteen.

Avro're, frosty.

A'xen, ashes.

A'xwaddle, a dealer in ashes, and, sometimes, one that tumbles in them.

Azoon, anon.

Bagga'ged, or Byga'ged, mad, bewitch'd.

To Bank, to beat.

Banging, large, great.

B'arngun, a breaking out in small pimples, or pustles in the skin.

Ba'rra, or Ba'trow, a gelt pig.

To the true Ben, or Bend (possibly of *Bendan*, *Sax.* to stretch out, to yield to). To the purpose, or sufficiently, to the utmost stretch.

Bewhiver'd, lost to ones self, bewilder'd.

Biird, or Berd, bread.

Blaking, crying till out of breath.

Blazing, spreading abroad news.

To Blo'ggy, to be sullen.

Blo'wmaunger, a fat blow-checked person.

B'oneshave, (perhaps from bone spavin, a bony crust growing on a horse's

heels, or the scratches), a kind of
horny tumour. Q.

Bo'ostering, labouring busily, so as to
sweat.

Bourm, yeast.

Br'andires, a trivet.

Brawn, or Broan, a cleft of wood for
the fire.

* [As a seem of braunds, is a horse-
load of billet-wood ; a rick of brands
is a stack of wood cleft for the fire :
so woaken, or elmen braunds, means
oak or elm billets.]

Briss, dust.

Broach, a spit, spindle.

Buckard, or Bucked (spoken of milk)
sour'd by keeping too long in the
milk-bucket, or by a foul bucket.

Buldering (weather,) sultry, hot.

Burnish, to grow fat, or increase in
bulk, look bright, rosy.

Butt, a bee-butt, or hive.

Cat-ham'd, fumbling, without dex-
terity.

Ca'uchery, a medicinal composition,
or slop.

Champ, a scuffle.

Cha'nnest, to challenge.

Cha'ngeling, an idiot, one whom the
fairies have changed.

Chaunge, a shirt, or shift.

Cho'ckling, hectoring, scolding.

Cho'unting, quarrelling.

Chu'er, a chare, or jobb of work.

Clathing, clothes.

Clavel, a chimney-piece.

Cloam, earthen-ware.

Coad, unhealthy.

Coajerze'end (i. e. a cordwainer's end),
a shoemaker's thread.

Coander, a corner.

Co'ckleett (i. e. cock-light) day-break,
or (sometimes) the dusk of the even-
ing.

Cod-glove, a thick glove without fin-
gers, to handle turf.

Condiddled, dispers'd.

Conkabell, an 'icicle, [in the Somerset
dialect Clinkabell].

Copper-clouts, a kind of splatter
dashes, worn on the small of the
leg.

To Cotten, to beat one soundly.

To Creem, to squeeze, or press to-
gether.

Cr'ewnting, grunting, or complain-
ing.

Crock, a pot.

Crowd, a violin.

Crowdling, slow, dull, sickly.

Crub, or Croust, a crust of bread or
cheese.

Cu'ffing, expounding on (applied to a
tale).

Culvers, pigeons.

Daps, likeness [the very daps of one,
the exact likeness in shape, or
manners.]

Dear'd, hurried, frighten'd, stunn'd.

Dem ! you slut.

Dimmet, the dusk of the evening.

Dinder, thunder.

Dinderex, a thunder-bolt.

Dorns, doorposts.

Do'veth, it thaws.

Dowl, the devil.

Dreade, thread, } and in general all
Dree, three, } words beginning
with Th sound D instead thereof.

To Drou, to dry.

Drumbledrane, a drone [or humble
bee.]

Du'bbed, blunt.

Du'gged, or Duddled, draggle-tail'd.

Eart one, eart to'ther, now one, then
the other.

E'el-thing, or Ill-thing, St. Anthony's
fire.

El'ewn, eleven.

El'ong, slanting.

Elt, see Ilt.

Ewte, to pour in.

Fitchole, a polecat [*fitcher or fitchet in other counties*].

Foust, dirty.

Full - stated, spoken of a leasehold estate, that has three lives subsisting on it.

Fustiluggs, a big-bon'd person.

Ga'llied, frighten'd.

Ga'llibagger, a bug-bear.

Ga'lliment, a great fright.

Ga'mmerell, the small of the leg.

G'and or G'ender, go yonder.

G'anny, a turkey.

G'a'owing, chiding.

Ga'psnest, a raree show, a fine sight.

Geed, gave.

Gho'wering or Jowering, quarrelsome.

Ginged, or Jinged, bewitch'd.

Gint or Jynt, joint.

Girred, drayle-tail'd.

Glam, a wound or sore.

Glo'wing, staring.

Glu'mping, sullen, or sour-looking.

Griddle, a grid-iron.

Grizzledemundy, a laughing fool, one that grins at everything.

Grizzling, laughing, smiling.

Gubb, a pandar, or go-between.

Gurt, great.

Gu'ttering, eating greedily [guttling].

Ha'ggage, a slattern.

Ha'lzening, predicting the worst that can happen.

Hanje or Hange, the purtenance of any creature [in Somerset, lamb's head and purt'nance, is the head, heart, liver and lights].

Ha'ntick, frantick.

Hare, her, also us'd for she.

Harrest, harvest.

Ha'wchamouth, one that talks indecently.

Ha'wthorn, a kind of hitch, or pin, cut out in an erect board, to hang a coat on, or the like.

To Hemn, to throw.

He'wstring, short-breath'd, wheezing.

Horry, mouldy. Q.

To Hoppy, to hop, or caper.

Ho'zee, to be badly off.

Hu'ckmuck, a little tiny fellow [thick stubbed].

Hucksheens, the hocks, or hams.

Husking, shuffling and shrinking up one's shoulders.

Jacketawa'd, an Ignis Fatuus.

Ilt, or Elt, a gelt sow.

Kee, kine, or cows.

Kep, a cap.

Kerping, carping, finding fault.

Kittepacks, a kind of buskins.

Labb, a blab.

To Lackee, to be wanting from home.

Lamps'd, lam'd or hurted.

Lathing, invitation.

Leech-way, the path in which the dead are carried to be buried.

Le'ery, empty, unloaden.

Loblolly, an odd mixture of spoonmeat.

Lock ! What ! Hey day !

Loff, low.

Lo'ngripplie, a viper.

Looze, a hog-sty.

To Loustree, to work hard.

Lowing, piling up one thing on another.

To Lundge, to lean on anything.

Lymptwigg, a lapwing.

Malls, the measles.

Marl, a marvel, a wonder.

Mass, acorns [mast].

Maz'd, mad, crazy, [so a maz'd man for madman].

Mews, moss.

Min, or Men, them, e.g. Put min up, i.e. Put them up.

Moyle, a mule.

To Moyley, to labour hard like a mule.

Muggard, sullen.

Muggotts, chitterlings, also a calf's pluck.

- To Mull, to pull and tumble one about.
 Mux, *chit*.
 Neeald, a needle.
 Niddick, the nape of the neck.
 Ninniwatch, a longing desire or expectation of a thing.
 Nose-gigg, a toe-piece on a shoe.
 O'avis, the eaves of a house.
 Over, material, important, e.g. *I have an over errand to you* (p. 298 II).
 To take Owl, to take amiss.
 Ownty, empty.
 Pa'ddick, a toad.
 To Pa'ddle, to tippie.
 Pa'lching, patching or mending clothes.
 Pa'lching, walking slowly.
 Pame, a christening blanket, a mantle.
 Pa'nrock, an earthen pan.
 Pa'nking, panting.
 Pa'rbeaking, fretful.
 Peek, a prong, or pitchfork.
 Pestle, or leg, of poi k.
 Pilm, dust raised by the wind.
 To Ping, to push.
 Pingzwill, a boyl.
 To take Pip at a thing, to take it ill.
 Pistering, whispering.
 Pixy, a fairy.
 Pla'sad, in a fine condition.
 To Plim, to swell, or encrease in bulk, or to make anything swell by beating.
 Plump, a pump.
 Po'dger, a platter or pewter dish.
 To Po'mster, to act the emperick.
 To Po'ochee, to make mows at a person.
 Pook, a cock of hay.
 To Po'tee, to push with ones feet.
 Prill'd, sour'd.
 Princked, well dress'd, fine, neat.
 To Pritch, to check, or withstand.†
 † [A term for making holes in the leathers of cards to admit the wire.]
- Pro'sets, buskins.
 Pung, push'd.
 Purting or a-pu'rt, sullen.
 Putch, to hand up (pitch), sheaves or the like with a pitch-fork.
 Qu'elstring, hot, sultry [sweltry].
 Querking, grunting.
 Quott, or Aquott, weary of eating ; also sat down.
 Rabble-rote, a repetition of a long story, a tale of a tub.
 Rag'owtering, playing at romps.
 Ranish, ravenous.
 Rathe (not rear, as Gay has it), early, soon, e.g. a leet rather, i.e. a little while ago, a little sooner ; [why do you op so rathe ; or rise so early].
 To Ream, to stretch.
 Rearing, mocking, by repeating another's words with disdain, or the like.
 Reart, right.
 Re'arting (i.e. righting) mending.
 Rexen, rushes.
 To Rey ones self, to dress ones self [aray].
 Ripping one up, telling him all his faults.
 Rittling, wheazing [quasi rattling].
 Roundshaving, chiding exceedingly.
 Rumble, a large debt contracted by little and little, [Somersetshire, 'Twill come to a rumble, a breaking, at last].
 To Scorse or Scoace, to exchange.
 Sewent or Suent, even, regular, all alike.
 Sheenstrads, splatterdashes.
 Sherking or sharking, an eager desire to cheat or defraud another.
 To take a Shoard, to drink a cup too much.
 Shool, a shovel.
 To shoort, to shift for a living.
 Siss, a great fat woman.
 Skotch or Squotch, a notch.

Slotter, *nastiness.*

To Sowl, *to tumble ones clothes, to pull one about, &c.*

Spalls, *chips, also things cast in ones teeth.*

Spare, *slow.*

Spewring, *a boarded partition.*

Sprey, *spruce, ingenious.*

To Sp'udlee, *to stir or spread a thing abroad.*

Squelstring, *sultry.*

Ste'chopping, *playing the hobby-horse.*

Stewardly, *like a good housewife.*

Ste'yan or Stean, *an earthen pot, like a jar.*

To Stile or Stilee, *to iron clothes.*

Stirrups, *a kind of buskins.*

Stra'mmer, *a great lye.*

Stro'aking, *milking after a calf has suck'd.*

Stroil, *strength and agility.*

A good Stubb, *a large sum of money.*

Sture, *a steer, also a dust raised.*

Su'fling, *sobbing.*

Swill, *to swallow down ones throat.*

Swillet, *growing turf set on fire for manuring the land.*

Ta'llet (*i.e.* top-loft) *a hay loft.*

Ta'nbase or Ta'nbase, *scuffling, struggling.*

Taply or Tapely, *early in the morning.*

Tatchy, *peevish.*

Teaster, *the canopy of a bed.*

Ted or Tet, *to be ordered or permitted to do a thing, as I Ted go home, i.e. I am to go home.*

Terra, *a turf.*

To Turvee, *to struggle and tumble, to get free.*

Tetties (*from Teats*), *breasts.*

Thek, or Th'eckee, or The'cka *this is (generally, not always) us'd for That when it is a pronoun demonstrative, but never when it is a pronoun relative, or a conjunction, in*

which cases Thet or Thate is the word us'd.

Therle, *gaunt, lean.*

To Thir, Thear, Der, Dear or Dere, *to frighten, hurt or strike dead.*

Tho, then, *at that time.*

Thumping, *great, huge.*

To Ting, *to chide severely.*

To'tle, *a slow, lazy person.*

To'tling, *slow, idle.*

Tourn, *a spinning wheel.*

To Toze, *to pull abroad wool, &c.*

Troant, *a foolish fellow, and sometimes a lazy loiterer, a truant.*

Trolubber, *a husbandman, a day-labourer.*

Trub, *a slut (not a little squat woman, as Bailey has it).*

Twine, *packthread.*

To Vang, *to take or receive.*

To Vang to, *to stand sponsor to a child.*

Ve'aking, *fretfulness, peevishness.*

Vi'gging, *see Potee.*

Vinnied, *mouldy.*

Vinny, *a scolding-bout.*

To Vit, *to dress (meat, &c).*

Vitty, *decent, handsome, well.*

Umber, *number.*

Voor, *a furrow.*

Vore, *forth.*

To drow Vore, *to twit one with a fault.*

Vo're-days or Voar-days, *late in the day.*

Vore-reert, *forth-right, without circumsppection.*

Upaze't, *in perfection.*

Upze'tting, *a gossiping, or christening feast.*

Vung, *receiv'd.*

Vull-sta'tad, *see Full-stated.*

Vurdin, *a farthing.*

Vur-vore, *far, forth.*

Wa'ngery, *flabby.*

Wa'shamouthie, *a blabb.*

Wa'shbrew, *flummery*.

Wassa'il, *a drinking song on twelfth-day eve, throwing toast to the apple trees in order to have a fruitful year; which seems to be a relick of a heathen sacrifice to Pomona.*

|| *Wassail, or Was-heil, to wish health.*

See Observat. on Macbeth, p. 41.

We'therly, *with rage and violence.*

Whe'rret, } *a great blow;*

Whi'sterpoop } *(perhaps a back-hand stroke).*

Whitwich, *a pretended conjurer that discovers, and sells, charms for witchcraft.*

Who'tjecombe, *what d'ye call him.*

Whott, *hot.*

Why-vore, *or for why vore, wherefore.*

Wop, *a wasp.*

Wraxling, *wrestling.*

Yellow beels or Yellow boys, *guineas.*

Yead, *head.*

Ye'aveling, *evening.*

Yees, *eyes.*

Yeevil, *a dung-fork.*

Ye'ring, *noisy.*

Ye'wmors, *embers, hot ashes.*

Yeo, *an ewe.*

Zennet, *a week, a sev' night.*

Zess, *a pile of sheaves in a barn.*

Zew, *a sow.*

Zewnteen, *seventeen.*

Zigg, *urine.*

Zimmyla, *son-in-law.*

Zive, *a scythe.*

Zo'werswopped, *ill-natur'd.*

Zowl, *a plough.*

"I could muster up many more words in this barbarous dialect, but

Ne quid nimis.

"DEVON."

☞ "What is between hooks [], and the notes, is an addition to the Vocabulary; and we hope will not offend the author."

Gentleman's Magazine, November 1746, p. 567.

"*Exon*, Sept. 15, 1746.

"SIR,

"ON perusing the *Exmoor Scolding*, I find the following words marked with an asterisk, which are omitted from the Vocabulary.

"Yours, &c.

"DEVONIENSIS."

Angle-bowing, *a method of fencing the grounds, wherein sheep are kept (in and about Exmoor), by fixing rods, like bows, with both ends in the ground, where they make angles with each other; somewhat like the following figure.*



Antle-beer, *cross wise, irregular.*

Cunniffing, *dissembling, flattering.*

Dwalling, *talking nonsense, or as if delirious.*

Eart, or Aert (*i. e. oft*), *but generally used of now and then, as eart this way, eart that way, i. e. now this way, now that way.*

Hoazed ! *timely off* [*spoken ironically*], *also hoarse.*

Jibb, *a stiller to fix a barrel of liquor on.*

Lathing or Leathing, *invitation.*

Lipped, *loose, free ; and sometimes the breaking out of stitches in needlework, or the like.*

Ort, *ought, anything.*

Ort, Orten, *often.* See Eart.

Rigging, *playing the hobby-horse.*

Stertlee, *to startle, or hop up and down, or the like.*

Trub, *signifies not only a sluttish woman, but is sometimes masculine, and denotes a slovenly looby.*

Widford, *a widower.*

Gentleman's Magazine, Dec. 1746, p. 644.

"Exon, Dec. 8, 1746.

"SIR,

"HAVING lately been in the north parts of our county, I enquired the meaning of the word *boneshave* which I was doubtful of, and I find 'tis the *Sciatica* ; so that I was mistaken in my conjecture (p. 64). I send you a ridiculous charm which they use for curing it. Had I leisure I believe I could trace the etymology of many of our *Devonshire* words, and show that the worst part of the dialect is not so barbarous as that of *Lancashire*.

"A charm for the *Boneshave* (as the *Exmoorians*, who often use it, call the *Sciatica*).

"The patient must lie on his back on the bank of a river or brook of water, with a straight staff by his side, between him and the water ; and must have the following words repeated over him :—

Bone-shave right ;
Bone-shave straight ;
As the water runs by the stave
Good for Bone-shave.
In the name, &c.'

"They are not to be persuaded but that this ridiculous form of words seldom fails to give them a perfect cure.

"DEVONIENSIS."

I have never been able to meet with a *second* Edition of the *Scolding and Courtship*, nor of the *fifth* or *sixth* ; but although the dialogues first appeared in a Magazine in July 1746, yet the *third*

edition, a square 12mo., of which a copy is in the Bodleian, bears date 1746—showing that the demand arose immediately after the first publication. In this *third* edition the two dialogues are both printed, but with separate titles, no mention being made of the Courtship upon the title-page of the Scolding, which is however put first in the pamphlet.

The same applies to the *fourth* edition, of which a copy is in the British Museum, dated 1750. This fourth edition is by far the most sumptuous I have seen; it is small 4to., large type, and has a frontispiece representing two men and a woman in a disordered house. Tables are upset and dishes broken, but there is no incident in the dialogues which can by any stretch of imagination be supposed to be illustrated. The printer, Andrew Brice, Exeter, is the same as the publisher of the *third* edition, who is said by Sir J. Bowring to be one of the authors. This copy bears the name “W. Upcott,” and appears at some time also to have belonged to Sir F. Madden, who has written:—

“Bought of Bradbury, No. 2 Mortimer St., 22nd. Feby. 1850.

“I never saw another copy, and I have made large collections on the subject.
“F. MADDEN.”

Besides this curious *fourth* edition the British Museum has three copies of the seventh (1771) (which seems to be the commonest now remaining of those printed in the last century), but no other. In the Bodleian, besides the *third* edition (1746) there is the *seventh* (1771) and a reprint of the seventh dated 1793. This last is printed in double columns, thus explained on the title-page:

“To which is adjoined a Collateral Paraphrase in Plain English for explaining barbarous words and Phrases.”

T. Brice, Exeter, is the Printer, but he has omitted all the notes and the vocabulary found in the editions of 1771 and onwards.

In the Bodleian is also an exact reprint of T. Brice's issue, but the title has “To which is prefixed a translation of the same into plain English”—

“Exeter,—J. McKenzie & Son”

“Price only three pence”

1795.

This last was probably a piracy upon Brice, whose issue is priced "four pence."

I hoped to have found in this paraphrase some help towards explaining the words not found in the vocabulary, but the entire translation into "plain English" is utterly worthless and beneath contempt.

The Bodleian also possesses a "New Edition" "containing marginal notes, and a vocabulary at the End for explaining uncouth Expressions, and interpreting barbarous words and phrases." Exeter.

"Reprinted from an Edition of 1771 by Penny & Son." 1818.

The dialogues may now be bought at the Railway Book Stalls, apparently reprinted from the ed. of 1771, with the preface and vocabulary, price sixpence.

In the *Monthly Magazine*, Sept. 1814, p. 126, is a letter which may well be reproduced here, inasmuch as it throws light upon the pronunciation of the *ch* when used for the first person singular.

Monthly Magazine, September 1814, p. 126.

"SIR,

"SEEING lately in your Magazine a list of provincial words used in Essex, and a wish subjoined that your correspondents resident in different places would transmit such lists from their respective counties, I beg leave to offer to your notice the following scanty vocabulary of the provincial words of Somerset, together with a short essay on the dialect of this county, which I hope will not be deemed altogether unworthy of notice.

"SOMERSETIENSIS."

"Taunton, July, 1814."

VOCABULARY.

Ar'guefy, argue.

Aus'ney, to anticipate bad news.

Brack, flaw.

Doff, take off.

Dout, put out, extinguish.

Dumps, twilight.

Dumpy, short, squat.

Gabey, } simpleton.

Gawkey, }

Hell, to pour.

Hend, to throw.

Latch, fancy, wish.

Lie-a-bier, lie-dead.

Lissom, active.

Not half saved, foolish.

Nummet, } luncheon.

Nunch, }

Ort (*aught*), anything.

Pillom, dust.

* *Roiley*, to rail.

* *Rowl*, fair, revel.

Skiver, skewer.

Swant, proper.

Thick, that.

Tottle, totter.

Trapes, slut.

* *Upsetting*, christening.

Wap, to beat.

"Those marked thus * peculiar to Exmoor.

"It is a very common observation that the pronunciation of Somerset is more vitiated than that of any other county, so much so that a thorough-bred Somerset-man is with difficulty understood in various parts of England. The cause of this does not consist so much, I think, in the use of provincial words, the inhabitants of this county not making use of so many as those of various other counties, but from a mispronunciation of those words which they make use of. It has always been my opinion that this fault arises in a great measure from a sort of indolence which prevents the people of Somerset from making use of those consonants which require an effort to articulate well, such as *f* and *s*, and relaxing into *v* and *z*, as father, *vather*; Somerset, *Zomerzet*; and of those combinations of consonants which not only require an effort to pronounce them, but are offensive to a delicate ear, in which cases they either interpose a vowel or omit one of the consonants, as posts, *postes*; desks, *deskes*; needle, *neel*; with me, *wi' me*; a pound of butter, *a poun' o' butter*.

"Another effect of this indolence is the lengthening or dwelling on the vowels, so as to make them sound almost like diphthongs, as, none, *no-an*; fool, *vo-ol*; door, *doo-er*, &c.

"They also make use of the word *be* nearly through the whole of the present tense of the verb *to be*, as, *I be—thou beest* (pronounce *bist*), *he is, we, you, they, be*. They terminate the preterite tense and participle past of most verbs, in *d*—as, I saw, or have seen; *I zeed*, or *have zeed*; *gid* for gave or given, &c. They always use *'en* for him (*ihn*, German), and *'em* for they or them, both in affirmation and interrogations, and *'er* (German *er*) for *he* in interrogations only, as, did they see him? *did'em zee'en*? did he give them anything? *did'er gi' 'em ort* (*aught*)! give him, *gi' 'en*, &c.

"They change the *snt* in such contractions as isn't, was'n't, into *d'n*, as, isn't he? *id'n er*? was'n't he? *wad'n er*? but they say *han't er*? for hasn't he? to distinguish it from *had'n er*, hadn't he?

"Beside these general corruptions there are a few peculiar to different parts of the county. At Marlock, Yeovil, and the adjacent places, they make use of *che*, (pronounced almost like the French *je*), for *I*, as *ch'ill*, I will; *ch'ave*, I have, &c. Nor do they pronounce the final *r* at all; except by relaxing the sound of the vowel that precedes it into that sound which the French designate by *eut*, in the word *peut*; and if it exists in English, in the syllable *er* in porter, &c., in the

same manner as the modern Parisians pronounce *fille* (fi-eu), door, *doo-eu*; pear, *pea-eu*, &c.

“Of the dialect of the inhabitants of Exmoor, the most western part of this county, I can give you little or no information; it is so very corrupt that no one can understand it who has not been bred among them. If you could procure a pamphlet, published sometime since, entitled, I think, “the Exmoor Scolding,” you might give your readers a specimen of it. If I meet with it you may depend on a communication. It is from seeing that work some years since that I have been enabled to recollect those two or three (? words) inserted in the vocabulary marked with an asterisk.

“I must conclude with the hope that, if any of your readers should come into Zomerzeshire, they may find this essay of real utility, both in understanding the inhabitants, and in making themselves understood by them.”

In the *Monthly Magazine* of November, 1814, p. 330, Mr. J. Jennings writes a long letter from Huntspill, dated September 10th, 1814, in reply to the above, and stating many particulars as to the dialects east and west of the Parrett, all of which, together with a considerable list of words accompanying the letter, have since been published in Jennings’s ‘*Dialect of the West of England*,’ John Russell Smith, 1869.

A N

Exmoor COURTSHIP;

O R, A

SUITORING DISCOURSE

I N T H E

Devonshire DIALECT and MODE,

N E A R

The FOREST of *EXMOOR*.



The Persons.

Andrew Moreman, a young Farmer.

Margery Vagwell, his Sweetheart.

Old Grammer *Nell*, Grammer to *Margery*.

Thomasin, Sister to *Margery*.

A N

AN EXMOOR COURTSHIP.¹SCENE *Margery's Home.*²*To Margery enter Andrew.*³316 *Andrew.* **H**OW goeth et, Cozen Magery?⁴*Margery.* Hoh! Cozen Andra, how d'ye try?*Andrew.* Come, let's shake Honds,⁵ thof Kissing be⁶ scarce.320 *Margery.* Kissing's plenty enow;⁷ bet chud zo leefes⁸ kiss tho Back o' ma Hond es c'er a Man in Challacomb, or yeet in Paracomb; no Dispreze.⁹

¹ *Courtskip* is a literary word—*kyèo'ürteen*, 'courting,' alone is heard in the dialect.

² Another literaryism—a person's *home* is never heard of—it would be *Maa'jurèez aewz*. *Home* is used only in the sense of *at home*; as, *üz mae'üstur aum?* 'is master at home?' In early editions of 1746 it is *house*.

³ Again, this would be—*Tu Maa'jurèe kaumth An'dr—enter* is altogether too stogy a word.

⁴ This salutation is thoroughly vernacular. See Preface, p. 15.

⁵ I have never heard *honds*—this pronunciation is obsolete, but only recently so. Jennings (W. of E. Dialect) gives *hon* for *hand* as used so lately as 1814, in East Somerset. No doubt *hond* is the old West Country pronunciation—for Robt. of Gloucester (Will. the Conq., ed. Morris and Skeat, l. 41), says—

' & uor Harald adle is op ibroke
þat he suor mid is riȝt hond.'

U AK'SMOAR KOO'URTSHUP.¹

SAIN Maa'jurēz au'm.²

Tu Maa'jurēe ai'ntur An'dr.³

Andrew. **A**ew gooth ut, Kuuz'n Maa'jurēe?⁴

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Margery. Hoa! Kuuz'n An'dr, aew d-ee traay?

Andrew. Kau'm, lat-s shee'ūk hauns,⁵ thauf Kees'ēen bee⁶
skee'ūs.

Margery. Kees'een-z plai'ntee unēo';⁷ bít ch-úd zu leev⁸ kees dhu 320
baak u mù haun uz ae'ur u mae'ūn een Chaal'ikum, ur eet een
Paar'ikum; noa deespraa'yz.⁹

So also William of Shoreham, A.D. 1307 (De Baptismo, l. 121), says—

*'þe prest takeþ þat ilke child
In his honden by-thuixte.'*

⁶ This *be* is emphatic, otherwise it would be *thauf kees'en-z skee'ūs*.

⁷ See 'Somerset Man's Complaint,' p. 9.

⁸ This is still the usual phrase, alternating with *zu zeo'u*—it implies *readiness* more than preference. In the 'Chronicon Vilodunense,' A.D. 1420 (ed. Hoare, 1830), we find Stanza 274 referring to St. Editha—

'For lever here was þe pore to ffedi.'

This is also a good example of the use of *her* as a nominative. (See W. S. Gram., p. 35.)

⁹ Spelt *dispreise*, l. 69—*dispreize* in Ed. I. to IV. 1746. It must have been pronounced as with long *i*—precisely like the modern Cockney *praise*.

Andrew. Es dont believe thate* ;¹ yeet es² believe well too.

[Swop ! he kisses and smuggles her.

325 *Margery.* Hemph—Oh ! tha very Vengeance out o' tha !—
Tha hast a creem'd ma Yearms,³ and a most a bost ma Neck.—Wall,
bet, vor all, how dost try, es⁴ zey, Cozen Andra ? Es hant a zeed
ye⁵ a gurt while.

Andrew. Why, fath, Cosen Margery, nort marchantable,
330 e're since es scoast⁶ a Tack or two wey Rager Vrogwell tether
Day.—Bet sug !⁷ es trem'd en & vagg'd en so, that he'll veel et vor
wone while, chell warndy.⁸

Margery. How, Cozen Andra ! Why es thort⁹ you coudent a
vort⁹ zo.

¹ I never heard *thate*—the *thet* of the original note is more like the present form. (See W. S. Gram., p. 32.) In First Ed. it is *thek*, clearly an error of the original author. See letter of 'Devoniensis,' p. 64.

² In Editions I. to IV. we find *and eet es believe*, &c. This pronunciation of *yet* is the only correct one. I cannot account for the insertion of the *y* in the text, except that it is found and sounded in the literary *yet*. See note to l. 110, p. 36.

³ The spelling of *arms* with *y* is, I think, an error—a *y* sound would be inevitable, with a diphthong after a close vowel, as *mi æ'urmz*, *dhi ai'd*—which cannot be uttered without the *y* sound.

⁴ In the first four editions, both *es-s* in this line are written *ees*, a form which is still common in interrogative sentences. (See W. S. Gram., p. 34.)

⁵ I am confirmed in the conclusion expressed in Note 2, by the transcriber's writing *ye* with a *y* which is never sounded—*æw b-ee'?* 'how ye be?' *d-ee dhaengk t-l oa'l tûe u vraw's?* 'do you think it will hold to a frost?' (very common idiom); *you* in l. 333 is spelt *ee* in 1st ed.

⁶ In the early editions this word is written *scorst*—which still represents the sound more nearly than the text.

⁷ A quasi oath, still heard occasionally, but I cannot interpret it.

⁸ Here the transcriber denotes the 2nd pers. pl. by simple *y*—pronounced precisely the same as when spelt *ye*, as above in l. 328.

⁹—⁹ In many words ending in *ught* this *r* is inserted, as in *nort*, l. 329 ; *ort*, l. 167 ; *brort* = brought ; *bort* = bought ; *cort*, l. 389.

* (Note to Ed. of 1778.) Thate is the proper Word here, according to the Exmoor Dialect ; though Thek was in the former Editions improperly inserted instead thereof. 'Tis true the Word Thek, as well as Theckee or Thecka, is (generally but not always) used for That, when it is a Pronoun Demonstrative : but never when it is a Pronoun Relative, or a Conjunction, in which Cases Thet or Thate is the Word used. The Devonians however in their Distinction

Andrew. Es doa'n bleev dhaet,*¹ eet es² bleev wuul tùe'.

[Zwaup! u keesth un smuuglth ur.

Margery. Haemf—Oa! dhu vuur'ëe Vainjuns aewt u dhu!— 325
Dh-as u-kraim'd mi ae'ŭrmz,³ un umaus u-buus mu Nak.—Wuul,
bút vur au'l, aew dús traay, es⁴ zai, Kuuz'n An'dr? Es aa'n u-zeed
ee⁵ u guurt wuy'ul.

Andrew. Waay, faa'rh, Kuuz'n Maa'jurëe, noa'urt maar'chuntubl,
ae'ŭr súnz es skoa'urst⁶ u taa'k ur tùe wai Raj'ur Vraugwúl taedh'ur 330
dal.—Bút z'uugz!⁷ es tremd un vag'd-n zoa, dhut u-l vee'ül ut vur
wan wuy'ul, ch-ül wau'rnd-ee.⁸

Margery. Aew, Kuuz'n An'dr! Waay es dhaurt⁹ yùe kèod'n u
vaurt⁹ zoa.

between Theck or Theekie, and That, do not altogether conform to that which our Saxon Ancestors made between Thylie or Thyle, (whence the Scotch Thilk) Thyllice or Thylce, *hic & hæc talis*, and their That or Thaet, by which they commonly expressed, *id, illum, illud, istud, hoc, istoc*, &c. The Devonshire Use of these Words may be exemplified by the following Phrases :

—“Hot's thet tha zest? What a gurt *Lee* es thate! The Man thet told tha thecka Story, thof' a' murt zey theeze Theng and thicky, whan a had a Parwobble weth tha, to make hes Tale hang vittily together, coul'dn't bleeve et 'es own zell: Shore and shore, thek Man shou'd a' had the Whitstone.”

This is the proper Exmoorian *Language*, and in plain English runs thus :

“What's that thou sayest? What a great *Lye* is that! The Man who told thee that Story, though he might say this and that Thing when he held a Parley (or Conference) with thee, the better to connect and embellish his Tale, could not believe it himself: Verily and indeed that Man should have had the Whetstone.”

And here it may be requisite to observe, that the Whetstone is deemed a proper Present for a notorious *Liar*, or one who has asserted the Truth of an incredible Story, by Way of Allusion to the following Anecdote, from whence we learn the real Origin thereof :

“Two Journey-men Shoemakers working together in the same Shop, in or near Exeter, had a Dispute concerning their Property in a Whetstone, (a necessary Implement of theirs) each claiming it as their own: At length it was proposed that he of the two that could tell the greatest *Lie*, in the Judgment of a third Person then present, to whose Decision it was referred, should have the Whetstone to his own Use: This being agreed to, the One to make sure of it asserted, that he once drove a Nail through the Moon; the other readily acknowledged this to be true, swearing that he at the same Time stood on the other Side of the Moon and clinch'd it. Upon which this latter was immediately adjudged to have an indisputable Title to the Whetstone.—Hence the Whetstone came to be deemed a proper Present for a notorious *Liar*; and hence every great *Lie*, when intended to corroborate another, is called a Clincher.”

335 *Andrew.* Why, 'twos oll about thee, mun;—vor es chan't¹
hire an² eel Word o' tha.

Margery. How! about me!—Why, why vore about me,
good zweet³ now?—Of a Ground⁴ ha can⁵ zey no Harm by⁶ ma.

Andrew. Well, well, no Mater.⁷ Es conden hire tha a run⁸
340 down, and a roilad upon zo, and zet still like a Mumchance,
and net pritch⁹ en vort.

Margery. Why, whot, and be hang'd to en, cou'd a zey o' me a
gurt Meazel?

Andrew. Es begit tha Words now;—bet ha roilad zo, that
345 es coudent bear et.—Bet a dedent lost¹⁰ hes Labour, fath; vor
es toz'd en,¹¹ es lamb'd en, es lace'd en, es thong'd en, es drash'd en, es
drubb'd en,¹² es tann'd en to the true Ben, fath: Bet step!¹³ cham
avore ma Story.¹⁴ — Zes I, Thee, thee art a pretty Vella!
Zes he, Gar, thee cassent make a pretty Vella o' ma.—No
350 agar, zeys I, vor th' art too ugly to¹⁵ be made a pretty
Vella, that's true enow. Gar, a was woundy mad¹⁶ thoa.^{17*}—

¹ This is clearly an error—it could not have been *es chant*, but the common *shant* for *shall not*.

² This *an* is a literaryism. (See W. S. Gram., p. 29.)

³ *Good now* is a very common phrase, but I never heard *good sweet now*!

⁴ This is quite obscure.

⁵ Another literaryism—the double negative, *u ka'n zai noa*; 'he can't say no' would be the true idiom.

⁶ This *by* is the regular idiom, and means *against*, as applied to conduct or character—the sense would have been identical if the word *harm* had been omitted, and it had been written, *ha cant zey nothing by ma*. The word is used here precisely in the same sense as—'I know nothing by myself.'—1 Cor. iv. 4.

⁷ *No matter*—impossible for a native—*no odds* would have been the expression.

⁸ *run* is always *urn*, the true descendant of the O.E.

⁹ *r* followed by a short *u* or short *i* always changes places, as *buursh*, *búrj* (bridge), *úrch* (rich).

¹⁰ *To lose* is still *to lost*. (See W. S. Gram., p. 49.) Here the editor of 1771 has rightly corrected the text—in the early Editions it is *looze*.

¹¹ All these different words, to repeat the same act, are thoroughly characteristic of the custom still in use, though perhaps a little exaggerated. I have often heard boasts nearly as verbose and absurd.

* (*Note to Ed. of 1778.*) *Tho* or *Thoa* is used for *Then* when spoken of Time past; but *Than* when referred to Time future. (See l. 369.)

Andrew. Waay, twuz aul ubaewt dhee, mun;—vur es-shaa'nt¹ 335
uy-ür u² ee-ül wuurd u dhu.

Margery. Aew! ubaewt mee!—Waay, waay voa'r ubaewt mee,
gèod zwëet³ naew?—Uv u Graewnd⁴ u kn⁵ zai noa aa'rm buy⁶ mu.

Andrew. Wuul, wuul, noa maat'ur.⁷ Es kèod-n uy-ur dhu u-uurn⁸
daewn, un u-rauy-lud upaun zoa, un zút stee-ül lik u muum'chaans, 340
un nút pürch-n⁹ vaur-t.

Margery. Waay, haut, un bi ang' tûe un, kèod u zai u mee, u
guurt Mai'zl?

Andrew. Es begit' dhu wuurdz naew; bût u-rauy-lud zoa, dhut
es keod-n bae'ur ut.—Bût u daed-n lau'st¹⁰ úz lae-übur, faa'th; vur 345
es toa üz-n,¹¹ es laam un, es lae-üs-n, es dhaungd-n, es draa'shd-n, es
druub-m,¹² es tan un tu dhu trûe Bai'n, faa'th: Bût staap!¹³ ch-úm
uvoa'r mi stoar'çe¹⁴—Zaez aay, Dhee', dhee urt u puur'tëe vael'u!
Zaez ee', Gaa'r! dhee kas-n mak u puur'tëe vael'u oa' mu.—Noa
Agaa'r, zaez aay, vur dh-urt tûe uug'lëe tu¹⁵ bee mae'üd a puur'tee 350
vae'l'u, dhaet-s trûeun'cò. Gaa'r, u wauz waewn'dëe¹⁶ mad dhóa.¹⁷—

¹² *Drumm'd* in early Editions.

¹³ *Step* in the text is an error—in the First Ed. it is *stap*—which is still the only pronunciation of *stop*.

¹⁴ *Uvore my story* is the regular idiom for 'I am digressing.' A scandal is a *stoar'*.

¹⁵ This clause is too literary, it should be, '*tûe uug'lëe vur tu bee u-mae'üd u puur'tee vael'u oa'*,' with distinct stress on the final preposition *of*. The speaker would certainly not have omitted either of the prepositions. The *for* before the infinitive of purpose is nearly invariable, as in O.E.; and the final *of* is equally a part of the construction. See note 16, p. 83.

¹⁶ Clench. '*An In-and-In: a woundy brag young yellow,
As the 'port went o' hun then, and in those days.*'

Ben Jonson, *Tale of a Tub*. Act I. Sc. 2.

Medlay. '*Indeed there is a woundy luck in names, sirs,
And a vain mystery.*'—*Tale of a Tub*. Act IV. Sc. 11.

¹⁷ (See W. S. Gram., p. 86.) *Tho* is used for *then*, throughout the *Wilton Chronicle*, A.D. 1420, as—

'*Five moner pepull here dwellyd þo*.—Stanza 12.

To wex þe Bretones for hurr' synne;

Pictis and Scottys and Hyrisshe also;

And þe Denmarke come þo first ynnē.'

'*þo alla baysshette.*'—Stanza 217.

'*To Wylton ano þo come he ywys.*'—Stanza 351, ed. Hoare.

352 Chell try thate, zeys he.—As¹ zoons that wut, zes I. —
 Zo up a roze, and to't we² went.—Vurst a geed ma a Whister-
 poop under tha Year, and vorewey a geed ma a Vulch in tha
 355 Leer.—Ad, thoa¹⁷ es rakad³ up, and tuck en be tha Collar, and
 zo box'd en, and zlapp'd en, that es made hes Kep hoppy, and hes Yead
 addle to⁴ en.

Margery. Well, es thenk ye, Cozen Andra, vor taking wone's⁵
 Peart zo.—Bet cham agest he'll go vor a Varrant⁶ vor ye, and take
 360 ye bevore tha Cunsabel; and than ye mey⁷ be bound over, and
 be vorst⁸ to g' in to Exeter to Zizes; and than a mey⁷ zwear
 tha Peace of es,⁹ you know.—Esen¹⁰ et better to drenk Vriends and make
 et up?

Andrew. Go vor a Varrant!⁶ Ad, let en, let en go; chell net
 365 hender en: Ver there's Tom Vuzz can take his cornoral Oath that
 he begun¹¹ vurst.—And if he deth, chell ha' as¹² good a Varrant⁶ vor
 he, as he can vor me, dont quesson et: Vor the Turney into¹³
 Moulton knowth me, good now, and has¹⁴ had zome zweet Pounds o'
 Vauther¹⁵ bevore ha dy'd. And if he's a meended to¹⁶ go to La, es can
 370 spend Vorty¹⁸ or Vifty Shillings as¹⁹ well's he. And zo let en go,

¹ This is quite wrong—*zu zeo'n-z dhu wut* is the correct idiom.

² *We* is a literaryism—it should be *es* or *uus wai'nt*.

³ *i. e.*, wake up as out of sleep—rouse oneself. The same word is used, l. 144.

⁴ *Aadle vor'n* would be the true idiom—*aadle to en* as in the text sounds quite foreign to the dialect.

⁵ This expression is impossible in the dialect. The expression in this case would certainly be—*takeen u ün'eebau'deez pae'urt-zo*. (See W. S. Gram., 38, 39.)

^{6—6—6} *Warrant* is a common word, and it is quite foreign to the dialect to pronounce *w* as *v*. In Ed. 1746 the word is spelt *warrant*—the change to *varrant* is an error of the editor of 1771, who doubtless desired to make his dialect as marked as possible.

^{7—7} *May* is literary; never heard in the dialect. (See W. S. Gram., p. 71.) The *y* in *ye* is never sounded, although so persistently written throughout these dialogues. It is clear that *y* is a very doubtful consonant in such words as *yearms*, l. 326; *yeet*. See note 2, l. 323.

⁸ The transcriber has made two errors in this word—it is one of those which always keeps the *f* sharp, while it drops the *r*; as a noun the word *force* is unknown. A third error is the omission of the participial prefix.

⁹ Here, where it is manifestly first person plural, is the same spelling as is throughout supposed to represent *I*.

¹⁰ *i. e.* *Is'nt it better*. Here *es* stands for *is*. This *is* is emphatic, otherwise it would be *aèd-n ut*. (See W. S. Gram., p. 56—61.)

Ch-úl truy dhaet, zaez ee.—Uz¹ zèò'n-z dhu wút, zaez aay.— 352
 Zoa aup u roa'zd, un tùe-t wee² wai'nt.—Vuust u gid mu a wús-tur-
 pèop uun'dur dhu yuur, un voa'rwai u gid mu u vuuleh een dhu
 lee'ür.—Ad, dhoa¹⁷ es rae'ükud³ aup, un tuuk-n bi dhu Kaul'ur, un 355
 zoa bauks-n, un zlaap-n, dhut es mae'üd úz kěp aup ee, un úz ai'd
 ad'l tùe⁴ un.

Margery. Wuul, es thaengk-ee, Kuuz'n An'dr, vur tak'een waunz⁵
 pae'ürt zoa.—Bút ch-úm agaast-u-l goa vur u Waar'unt⁶ vaur ee, un tak
 ee bivoa'r dhu kuun'subl; un dhan ee múd⁷ bee u-baewn oa'vur, un 360
 bee u-foo-üs⁸ tu g-een t-Aek'stur tu Suy'zúz; un dhan u múd⁷ zwae'ür
 dhu pai's oa es,⁹ yu noa.—Uz-n¹⁰ ut bad'r tu draengk vrain'z un mak
 ut aup?

Andrew. Goa vur a Waar'unt!⁶ Ad, lat-n, lat-n goo; ch-úl nút
 een'dur-n: Vur dhur-z Taum Vuuz kn tak úz kaur-nurul oa'üth dhut 365
 ee bigeend¹¹ vuus.—Un-eef u dúth, ch-úl ae'u zu¹² gèod u Waar'unt⁶ vur
 ee, z-ee kan vur mee, doa'n kwaes'n ut: Vur dhu Tuurn'ñee een'tu¹³
 Moa'ltn noa'üth mee, gèod nuw, un-dh¹⁴ u-ad zum zweet paewnz u
 vau'dhur¹⁵ uvoa'r u duy'd. Un-eef ee-z u-mee'ndud tu¹⁶ goo tu Laa, es kún
 spai'n vaur'tee¹⁸ ur veef'tee shúl'eenz uz¹⁹ wuul-z ee. Un zoa lat-n goo, 370

¹¹ *Begun* is literary, not dialect. (See W. S. Gram., p. 46.)

¹² *As* is impossible here.

¹³ The market or neighbouring town is always spoken of as *into*—‘Send into market’—‘He livth into Lynton town.’ *Moulton* here means South Molton.

¹⁴ *Has* of the text is literary—*hath* is the proper word contracted after *and* into *dh*.

¹⁵ In the Editions up to 1750, *Father* is in this case, and generally elsewhere, spelt *veather*, pronounced *vai'dhur*. In a few cases only in those editions we find *vauther*.

¹⁶ Should be *vur tu goo tu Laa*. *Law* is still pronounced thus. The use of the prep. *for* before the infinitive of purpose is nearly invariable. (See W. S. Gram., p. 52.) Just as it is in the old writers—

‘Swete lefdi seinte Marie, uor þe muchele blisse þet tu hefdest þo
 þu iseie þine brihte blissful sune þet te Gyus wenden vorto
 Aþrusemen, ase anoper deaðlich mon.’

(Ancrén Riwe, ed. Camden Society, p. 40.)

See also *Chronicon Vilodunense*, ed. Hoare, Stanzas 100, 101, and throughout the poem. Of this use endless quotations might be given.

¹⁷ See p. 80, l. 351.

¹⁸ *Forty* and *fifty* are generally pronounced with the *f* quite sharp as in lit. Eng., while *four* and *five* are always *vaaw'ur*, *vai'v*. See remarks by *Devoniensis*, p. 64.

¹⁹ Should be, *so well as he*.

371 and whipe¹ whot a zets² upon o' Zendeys wey lies Varrant.⁶ But hang en, let's ha nort more to zey about en; vor chave better Besense³ in Hond a gurt deal.⁴

[He takes hold of her & paddles in her Neck & Bosom.

375 *Margery.* Come, be quite,⁵—be quite, es zey,⁷ a grabbling o' wone's⁸ Tetties.—Es wont ha' ma Tetties a grabbed zo; ner es wont be⁹ mullad and soulad.—Stand azide,¹⁰ come, gi' o'er.

Andrew. Lock, lock; how skittish we be now; you werent¹¹ so skittish wey Kester Hosegood up to Darathy
380 Vuzz's Up-setting. — No, no, you werent¹¹ so skittish thoa, ner sa squeamish nether. — He murt mully and souilly tell¹² a wos weary.¹³

Margery. Es believe the very Dowl's in Voke vor leeing.

Andrew. How; sure and sure you wont deny et, wull ye,
385 whan oll tha Voaken¹⁴ took Notese o' et.

Margery. Why, Cozen Andra, thes wos the whole Fump o' the Besenese.¹⁵—Chaw'r¹⁶ in wey en¹⁷ to daunce; and whan the Daunce was out, tha Croud cry'd Squeak, squeak, squeak, (as a useth to do,¹⁸ you know) and a cort ma about the Neck, and woudent
390 be a sed,¹⁹ but a woud kiss ma, in spite o' ma, do what es coud to hender en.—Es could a borst tha Croud in Shivers, and tha Crouder too, a voul²⁰ Zlave as²¹ a wos, and hes Viddlestick into the Bargain.

¹ This word is very emphatic, and hence the strong aspirate.

² In the Exmoor district the *th* inflection is quite the rule, and particularly with such words as *sit, wet, fret, eat, walk, take*—which all have *th* only, and not *eth*; *take* becomes *tae'äkth* or *takth*.

³ Misprint in the text. See *Besenese*, l. 387.

⁴ In rapid speech the *t* of *gurt* glides into the *d* of *deal*—thus it is always *u gaur-dae'ül* for a great deal.

⁵ *Quiet* is always a monosyllable. In the early editions this was written *quiet*—but has been very properly amended in the 7th.

⁶ See p. 82, note 6.

⁷ *Es zey* is improbable—the two sibilants destroy each other, in rapid speech.

⁸ This should be *grab'leen u ün'eebaw-deez tät'eez*. See W. S. Gram., pp. 38, 39.

⁹ In early editions this was *wont be zo mullad*, a much better reading than the text.

¹⁰ This is quite literary—*aside* is unknown. She would not have used such an expression under such provocation—she would have said *git uwar*. The idiom of *stand aside* is *stan u wan zuyd* (stand on one side).

un hwyyp¹ haut u zút-th² upaun· u Zúin·dëez wai úz Waar·unt.⁶ Bút 371·
ang un, lat-s ae·ñ noa·ürt moo·ür tu zai ubaewt-n ; vur ch-uv bad·r
bús·unees³ een haund u guur-dae·ül.⁴

[U takth oa·ld oa ur, un pad·lth een ur nak-n buuz·um.

Margery. Kau·m, bee· kwuyt,⁵—bie kwuyt·, u zai⁷ u grab·leen u 375·
waunz⁸ tút·eez.—Es oa·ünt ae·ñ mi tút·eez u-grab·ld zoa ; nur es
oa·unt be⁹ u-muul·ud un suwlud.—Stan uzuyd ;¹⁰ kau·m, gi oa·ür.

Andrew. Lauk, Lauk ; aew skút·eesh wee bee naew ; yùe
wae·ürunt¹¹ zu skút·eesh wai Kaes·tur Oa·zgëod, aup tu Daar·utee
Vuuzúz aup-zút·een.—Noa, noa, yùe wae·ürunt¹¹ zu skút·eesh dhoa, 380
nur zu skwai·meesh naedh·ur.—Ee muurt muul·ëe un suw·lëe tael¹² u
wúz wae·üree.¹³

Margery. Es bleev dhu vuur·ee Duw·l-z een voak vur lee·een.

Andrew. Aew ; shoa·ür un shoa·ür yùe oa·n denny· ut, wul ëe,
haun aul dhu voa·kn¹⁴ tèok noa·ütees oa ut.

385

Margery. Waay, Kuuz·n An·dr, dhús wuz dhu woa·l fuump u
dhu bús·unees.¹⁵—Ch-au·r¹⁶ een wai un¹⁷ tu dau·ns ; un haun dhu
dau·ns wuz aewt, dhu kraewd kruyd skwik, skwik, skwik (uz u
yùe·zuth tu dhë,¹⁸ yu·noa) un u kau·ürt mu baewt dhu nak, un wúd·u
bee u-saed,¹⁹ búu u wúd kees mu, een spuyt u mu, dhë haut es kèod tu 390
ee·ndur·n. Es kèod u buus dhu kraewd een shúv·urz, un dhu
kraew·dur tùe, u vuw·ul²⁰ Zlae·üv uz²¹ u wauz, un úz Fúld·lstik een·tu
dhu baar·geen.

¹¹—¹¹ The present form would be *yùe waud·n*. The *werent* of the text sounds too bookish.

¹² I doubt if *till* or *until* would have been used—it should be *gin* or *vore*.

¹³ I never heard *weary* in the dialect—it should be *vore u wuz u-tuy·ürd*.

¹⁴ Quite obsolete. See note, l. 197.

¹⁵ This being rather a 'fine' word, it is lengthened out into its full three syllables. This is doubtless intended to be conveyed in the text.

¹⁶ Quite obsolete. This form evidently stands for *I war* or *were*.

¹⁷ This phrase '*in with him*' is peculiar, but thoroughly vernacular—it implies *in the ring* made by the company while two of the party performed a reel or some other pas de deux. Square dances were not known, and are not now danced by the real peasantry at the revels, gossipings, or club walkings when dancing is the usual evening diversion.

¹⁸ *Do* here is literary—the dialect omits the verb, *uz u yùe·zuth tùe*.

¹⁹ *i. e.* refused, resisted. Compare *guinsaid*.

²⁰ This is not a dialectal word. It may have been used, but I doubt it.

²¹ *As* is literary. *Slave that he was* is the more probable expression.

Andrew. Well, well, es b'ent angry, mun.¹—And zo let's
395 kiss and Vriends.² [Kisses her.] Well, bet, Cozen Magery,
oll thes while³ es hant told tha ma Arrant;—and chave an over
Arrant to tha, mun.¹

Margery. [Simpering.] Good zweet now, whot Arrant es et?
Es marl whot Arrant ye can ha' to me.

400 *Andrew.* Why, vath,⁴ chell tell tha. Whot zignivies⁵ et ta
mence tha Mater?⁶ Tes thes? bolus nulus wut ha' ma?

Margery. Ha ma? Whot's thate? Es cant tell whot ya me-an
by thate.

Andrew. Why, than, chell tell tha vlat and plean. Ya know es
405 kep Challacomb-Moor in Hond;⁷ tes vull stated:⁸ But cham
to chonge a Live⁹ for three Yellow-beels. And than there's tha
Lant up to Parracomb Town: And whan es be to Parracomb, es must
ha' wone¹⁰ that es can trest to look arter tha gerred-tea'd Meazels,
and to zar¹¹ tha Ilt and tha Barra, and melk tha Kee to Challa-
410 comb, and to look arter tha Thengs o' tha Houze.

Margery. O Varjuice! Why, Cozen Andra, a good steddyy
Zarrant¹² can do oll thes.

Andrew. Po, po, po! chell trest no Zarrants.¹²—And more an
zo, than they'll zey by¹³ me, as¹⁴ they ded by¹³ Gaffer Hill tether
415 Day: They made two Beds, and ded g' in to wone.—No, no, es
bant zo mad nether.¹⁵ — Well, bet, look, dest zee,¹⁶ Cozen

¹—¹ See note, l. 55. Extreme familiarity is here implied, as also in l. 355.

² The omission of the verb *be*, as in this instance, is very common. (See W. S. Gram., p. 57.)

³ *All this while* is not dialect, and has no business here. Some such expression as *aa'dr au'l* (after all), or *kaum tu laa's* (come to last), the latter most likely, would have been used.

⁴ This word is pronounced *fuath*, with the *f* quite sharp—it is spelt so in many places in the text; *e. g.* ll. 345, 347.

⁵ Not a dialectal word—such words, and indeed this whole sentence, tends to bring the entire 'Courtship' into discredit as a faithful record.

⁶ What do Exmoor natives even now know about *mincing the matter*?—*bee-ut-baewt-dhu bëosh* (beat about the bush), is what they would comprehend.

⁷ An owner is said to keep land *in hand* when he farms it himself.

⁸ *Full-stated*, a technical quasi law-term, implying that 'the three lives' are all now surviving, but the context shows that *one* of the lives was not a satisfactory one, and hence he was to substitute a better upon payment of a fine.

Andrew. Wuul, wuul, es bae'ünt ang'gree, mun.¹—Un zo lat-s kees-n Vrai'nz.² [Keesth ur.] Wuul búť Kuuz'n Maa'jurěe, 395 aul dhús wuy'ul³ es aa'n u-toa'l dhu mi Aar'unt;—un ch-uv u oa'vur Aar'unt tu dhu, mun.¹

Margery. [Súm'pureen.] Gèod zwěet naew, haut aar'unt úz ut? Es maar'ul haut Aar'unt ee kn ae'ũ tu mee.

Andrew. Waay, faath,⁴ ch-úl tuul dhu. Haut zig'n-eevuyz⁵ ut tu 400 maens dhu Maat'ur?⁶ Taez dhús? boa'lus noa'lus wút ae'ũ mu?

Margery. Ae-ũ mu? Haut-s dhaet? Es kaa'n tuul haut ee mai'n bi dhaet.

Andrew. Waay, dhún ch-úl tuul dhu vlaat-n pla'e'ũn. Yu noa es kip Chaal'ikum-Moa'ũr een aund;⁷ taez vèol stae'ütud:⁸ but ch-aam 405 tu chaunj u luyv⁹ vur dree yal'ur bee'ũlz. Un dhan dhur-z dhu Lant aup tu Paarikum-taewn: Un haun es bee tu Paarikum es mús ae'u wan¹⁰ dhút es kn trús tu lèok aa'dr dhu guur'ud taay'ũld Mai'z lz, un tu saar¹¹ dhu últ un dhu baar'u, un mŭlk dhu Kae'ee tu Chaal'ikum, un tu lèok aa'dr dhu dhengz u dhu aewz. 410

Margery. Oa Vaar'jees! waay, Kuuz'n An'dr, u gèod stúd'ě Saar'unt¹² kún dhè aul dhús.

Andrew. Poa, poa, poa! ch-úl trús noa Saar'unts.¹²—Un moo'ũr-n zoa, dhan dhai ul zai bi¹³ mee, uz¹⁴ dhai daed bi¹³ Gaaf'ur Ee'ũl taedh'ur dai: Dhai mae'ũd tuè bai'dz, un daed g-een tu wan.—Noa, noa, es 415 bae'ünt zu mad naedh'ur.¹⁵—Wuul búť, lèok, d-ee zee,¹⁶ Kuuz'n

⁹ In North Devon, the district here named, a good deal of the land was until very recently, held upon leases for lives, renewable upon payment of fines and quit rents. The custom was and is to pay a smaller fine during a survival for the right to exchange an old life for a younger one. This is still called 'changing a life.' This tenure is becoming rarer, as the Ecclesiastical Commissioners—the great reversioners of these lands—are refusing to continue the system.

¹⁰ This would be *somebody*, not *one*.

¹¹ *Serve* is always *saar*, not *zar*. See 'Devoniensis,' p. 64.

¹²—¹² So *servant* is never *zarrant*. See 'Devoniensis,' p. 64.

¹³—¹³ *By* is used when what is said of a person is derogatory. Natives would never think of speaking well *by* a person; they always speak well *of* him. See p. 80, Note 6, also W. S. Gram., p. 89.

¹⁴ *As* here is a literaryism—it should be *sae'ũm-z* (same as) or *ee'ns*. (See W. S. Gram., p. 66, Note 1.)

¹⁵ This would now be *nuudh'ur*.

¹⁶ In a coaxing, persuasive sentence, a native would never use the 2nd pers. sing. except to a child. He would invariably use the plural. (See W. S. Gram., p. 35.)

Magery; zo vur vore es tha wut¹ ha' ma, chell put thy² Live
pon Parracomb Down. Tes wor³ twonty Nobles a Year and
a Puss to put min in.⁴

420 *Margery.* O vile! whot marry?—No chant⁵ ha' tha best
Man in Challacomb, nor yeet in Parracomb. Na, chell ne'er
marry, vor ort's know. No, no! they zey⁶ thare be more
a marry'd aready than can boil tha Crock o' Zendeys.—No,
no, Cozen Andra; es coud amorst swear chudent ha' tha best
425 Square in oll England.—Bet come; prey,⁷ Cozen Andra, set down⁸
a bit. Es must g' up in Chamber, and speak a Word or two wey
Zester Tamzin. Hare's darning up of⁹ old blonkets, and
rearting tha Peels, and snapping o' Vleas.—Es ell come agen
presently.¹⁰

430 *Andrew.* Well, do than; bet make Haste, d'ye see.—Me-an time¹¹
chell read o'er the new Ballet cheve¹² in ma Pocket.

Margery. New Ballet! O good now, let's hire ye sing
et¹³ up.¹⁴

Andrew. Zing!—No, no, tes no singing Ballet, mun; bet
435 tes a godly one good now.

Margery. Why, whot's't about, than?

Andrew. Why, tes about a Boy that kill'd hes Vauther;

¹ Here too he would say *yùe'ül* or *ee'ül*. *Thee wilt* is most improbable; it is slightly hectoring and not in the least persuasive.

² The foregoing remarks apply equally to *thy*. It should be *yoa'ÿr*.

³ I never heard *wor*—it is always *waeth* or *wuth*.

⁴ i.e. 'twenty nobles and a purse to put them in.' (See W. S. Gram., p. 37.) Very common phrase, in speaking of value.

⁵ *Chant* is a misprint or mistake.

⁶ This '*they say*,' or as is most usual, '*they do say*,' is the precise equivalent of *on dit*—and it is just as commonly used. Usually in such a sentence as this it would be, '*they do say how*,' &c., or '*they do say eens there*,' &c.

⁷ *Pray* in this sense is bookish, not dialect. A native would say *Pûdh'ëe*, i.e. *prithëe*. See l. 261.

⁸ *Sit* is spelt *zet* elsewhere. Here in rapid speech the *t* final and *d* initial become one, and the whole becomes one word *zû-dæwn*.

⁹ This *of* is quite vernacular, and conveys a fine shade of meaning beyond the power of lit. Eng. in so few words. It gives the idea of general occupation, i.e. darning blankets in a frequentative sense, and not any particular old blankets. The same applies to the *snapping o' vleas*, but these pursuits are contrasted with *rearting the Peels*, which conveys the impression, through the

Maa'jurée; zu vuur voa'r uz dhu wút¹ ae'ñ mu, ch-ul puut dhuy² luyv pun Paarikum daewn. Taez waeth³ twaun'tee Noa'blz u Yuur un u Puus tu puut mún een.⁴

Margery. Ou vuy'ul ! haut maar'ée ?—Noa, shaant⁵ ae'ñ dhu bas 420 mae'ñ een Chaal'ikum, nur eet een Paarikum. Naa, ch-úl nae'ñr maar'ée, vur oa'ürt-s noa. Noa, noa, dhai zai⁶ dhur bee moo'ñr u-maar-ëed urad'ëe-n kún bwuuy'ul dhu Krauk u Zún'dëez.—Noa, noa, Kuuz'n An'dr; es kèod umau'rs zwae'ñr ch-èod-nt ae'ú dhu bas Skwae'ñr-n aul Ing'lun. Bút kau'm; prai,⁷ Kuuz'n An'dr, zú-daewn⁸ 425 u beet. Es mús g-uup-m Chím'bur, un spaik u wuurd ur tûe wai Zús'tur Taam'zeen. Uur-z daar-neen aup uv⁹ oa'l blaun'kuts, un ree'urteen dhu Pee'ulz, un znaap'een u vlai'z.—Es ul kaun ugee'ñ praz'unt luyk.¹⁰

Andrew. Wuul, dùe dhan; bút mak ae'ūs, d-ee zee.—Mai'n tuy'm¹¹ 430 ch-úl rai'd oa'ñr dhu nhè baal'ut ch-uv¹² een mu pau'gut.

Margery. Nhè baal'ut ! Oa gèod naew, lat-s uy'ñr ee zing ut¹³ aup.¹⁴

Andrew. Zing !—Noa, noa, taez noa zing-een baal'ut, mun; bút taez u gaud'lee wún geod naew. 435

Margery. Waay, haut-s-t ubaewt, dhun ?

Andrew. Waay, taez ubaewt u bwuwy dhut kee'ñld úz Vau'dhur;

absence of the prep. of righting (*i. e.* mending) the pillows actually in use by the household, while the blankets would be understood to be spare ones.

¹⁰ This word sounds rather literary. *Presently* when used at all implies *now*, and not as is politely understood, *after a little time*. I think Margery would have said—'Es ell come agen purty quick.'

¹¹ Not dialect. Andrew would have said, *wuy'ül yùe bee u-goo*—certainly not *meantime*.

¹² He would have said here, *haut ch-uv u-gaut*—*have* is not used alone in this sense, and he would not have omitted the relative in this case.

¹³ A song or ballad is a thing used, not an abstraction—the pronoun therefore would be *he*, nom. *un*, objective. *it*, in reference to a song, is not vernacular. (See W. S. Gram., p. 32) It should read *zing un aup*.

¹⁴ This *up* is very peculiar, but perfectly true to custom. To *sing a song* would imply an ordinary, sober, or sentimental one; but to *sing up a song* would convey an idea about the song that there was something *outré* about it—extravagant or indecent. Familiarly to *tell a tale* would imply a sober, orderly story, but to *tell up a tale* implies something that nobody believes—a cock and bull story.

and how hes Vauther went agen,¹ in Shape of² a gurt voul³
 Theng, wey a cloven Voot and Vlashes⁴ o' Vire, and troubled
 440 the House so, that tha Whatjecomb, tha Whit Witch, was vorst⁵
 to⁶ lay en in the Red-Zea;⁷ and how the Boy repented,⁸
 and went distracted, and was taken⁹ up, and was hang'd vor't
 and sung¹⁰ Saums, and sed his Praers. 'Twull do your Heart good to
 hire et, and make ye cry lick enny Theng.—There's tha Picture
 445 o'en too, and tha Parson, and tha Dowl, and tha Ghost, and tha
 Gallows.

Margery. Bet es et true, be sure?

Andrew. True? O La! Yes, yes:¹¹ es olways look to thate. Look
 see' tes here in Prent¹²—* *Lissened according to Order*.—That's
 450 olweys prented on what's true, mun.—Es took care to see
 thate whan es bort en.

Margery. Well, well, read et;—and chell g' up to Zester.

SCENE the Chamber.

To Thomasin enter Margery.

Margery. **O**H! Zester Tamzen!—Odd! ee es a come a long,
 454 and vath and trath¹³ hath a put vore¹⁴ tha Quesson

¹ *i. e.* appeared or walked after death—*went again* is the common idiom to express the reappearance of the dead. I well knew a case of an old man, of whom it was said, after he was killed, that *he went again*. The succeeding tenant (still living, 1879) of his cottage was a man with a wooden leg, who could only live in the cottage a very short time, because the previous (dead) tenant was so 'troublesome'—for he used to come every night and drag the wooden leg all about the *plancheen* (floor) by the buckle-straps. This occurred less than 25 years ago, and all the circumstances and people are well-known to me. Similar stories are very common, and so is the belief in both the re-appearance of the dead, and in the power of white-witches to lay the ghosts.

² This is quite a literaryism. It would be *lig u guurt*, &c., 'like a great.'

³ *Foul* is not a West Country word—it is Lancashire in this sense. Here it should read *gurt ugly thing*. (See W. S. Gram., p. 102.)

⁴ An *r* is sounded in most words in *ash*, as *aarsh* = ash; *smaarsh*, *laarsh*, *waursh*. Comp. *vort*, *thort*, &c., of the text, l. 334; *flash* too is not sounded *vlash*, but the *f* is quite sharp—*vlaarsh* is *flesh*. (See W. S. Dial., p. 71.)

* (Note to Ed. of 1778.) So Country People us'd to read *Licensed*, &c.

un aew úz Vau'dhur wai'nt ugee'ün,¹ een shee'ÿp² uv u guurt vuwl³ dhaeng, wai u kloa'vm vèot un flaar'shú⁴ u vuy'ur, un truub'ld dh-aewz zoa, dhut dhu Hauch'čekum, dhu Weet Wúch, wùz foo'us⁵ 440 tu⁶ laa'y un een dhu Huurd-Sai;⁷ un aew dhu bwuwy raipai'ntud,⁸ un wai'nt deestraak'tud, un wuz u-tòekt⁹ aup un wuz angd vaur't un zingd¹⁰ Saa'mz, un zaed úz praay'ÿrz. Twúl dùe yur aart gèod tu huy'ÿr ut, un mak ee kruiy lig ún'ee dhaeng.—Dhur-z dhu pik'tur oa un tùe', un dhu paa'sn un dhu Daewl, un dhu goa'ÿs, un dhu 445 gaal'ees.

Margery. Bút úz ut trùe', b-ee shoar'ur?

Andrew. Trùe? Oa laa'! ees, ees;¹¹ es au'vees lèok tu dhaet. Lèok zee túz yuur een púrnt¹²—* Lús'nd ukoar'deen tu au'rdu. —Dhaat-s au'vees upúrntud pun haút-s trùe, mun.—Es tòek kee'ÿr tu zee tu 450 dhaet haun es baurt-n.

Margery. Wuul, wuul, rai'd ut;—un ch-úl g-uup tu Zaes'tur.

SAI·N dhu Chúm'ur.

Tu Taam'zeen ai'ntur Maa'jurée.

Margery. **O**a! Zaes'tur Taam'zeen!—Aud! ee úz u-km u lau'ng, un faa'th-n traath,¹³ u-th u-puut voa'r¹⁴ dhu Kwaes'n 454

⁵ *Force* is always *foo'ÿs*, not *voo'ÿs*. There is no sound of *r* in the dialectal word.

⁶ This ought to read *foo'us vur tu laa'y un*.

⁷ *Red-Zea* is impossible; *red* is *uurd*, but emphasised it is *huurd*. *Sea* is always *sai*, never *zai*, the latter means *say*. See p. 64, where 'Devouiensis' confirms this.

⁸ *Repented* is rather a 'fine' word, but it is used in the dialect, and is then uttered very deliberately *rai-pai'ntud*.

⁹ i. e. *was apprehended*—the regular idiom for *arrested*. *Taken up* is impossible; past. part. *u-tòekt*. (See W. S. Gram., p. 48.)

¹⁰ (See W. S. Gram., p. 76.) *Sung* is a literaryism.

¹¹ *Yes* is never heard—it is always *ee's*.

¹² It is still a very common saying. *Oa! aay noa' tuz trùe, kuuz aay zeed ut een púrnt*. *Print* is always *púrnt*. See note 9, p. 80.

¹³ This is the only way in which *troth* is used—*by my troth* is never heard. The pronunciation is much broadened to rhyme with *fath*—the *vath* of the text is a mistake, the *f* is pronounced sharply.

¹⁴ *To put vore* is the common idiom = to out with.

455 to ma a' ready.—Es verly beleive thy¹ Banes will g' in next Zindey.
 —Tes oll es ho' * vor.—Bet es tell en, Marry a-ketha! and tell en
 downreet es chant marry tha best Man in Sherwill
 Hunderd. — Bet dest tha hire ma, Zester Tamzen; dont ye
 be a Labb o' tha Tongue in what cham a going to sey, and than
 460 chell tell tha sometheng. — The Banes, cham amorst sure,
 wull g' in ether a² Zindey or a² Zindey-senneert to³ vurdest.
 Es⁴ net aboo Two and Twonty;—a spiey Vella⁵ and a vitty
 Vella⁵ vor enny keendest Theng.—Thee know'st Jo Hosegood c,
 reckon'd a vitty Vella⁵: Poo! Es⁴ a sooterly⁶ Vella to Andra;
 465 there's no Compare.

Thomasin. Go, ya wicked Cunterveit!⁷ why dest lee so
 agenst thy Meend; and whan ha put vore tha Quesson tell en tha
 wudsent marry?—Besides, so vur as tha know'st, ha murt⁸ take P'p o',
 and meach⁹ off, and¹⁰ come no more anearst tha.

470 *Margery.* Go, ya Alkitotle? ya gurt voolish¹¹ Trapes!
 Dest thee thenk a beleev'd¹² ma, whan es sed chudent marry? Ee
 es net so sart¹³-a-baked nether. Vor why? es wudent be too
 vurward nether; vor than ee murt dra back. — No, no; vor
 oll whot's sed, es hope tha Banes wull go in, es sey, next Zindey.—
 475 And vath, nif's do vall over the Desk, twont thir ma, ner yeet
 borst ma Bones.—Bet nif they dont g' in by Zindey-senneert,
 chell tell tha, in short Company,¹⁴ es chell¹⁵ borst ma Heart.—
 478 Bet es must go down to en; vor he's by ees zell oll theez while.

¹ This is evidently a misprint. Margery could not have believed *thy Banns*, i. e. her sister's would go in. In the early Editions of 1746 it is *tha Banes*.

²⁻² This short sound—*a* in the text—is the contraction of *on*. (See W. S. Gram., p. 96.) It is precisely the same as the *a* in *amiss*. In the Chronicon Vilodunense, Stanza 279, ed. Hoare, we read: *dude on mys* = *did amiss*.

³ *To* is used for *at*. (See W. S. Gram., p. 89.) Also Devonienensis, p. 64.

⁴⁻⁴ Here *es*, which usually stands for *us* or *I*, means *he is*.

⁵⁻⁵⁻⁵ *Fellow* is generally *fuul'ur*, a word in very common use—this sharp pronunciation of the *f* distinguishes *fellow* from *felloe* or *felly*, which is always pronounced *vuul'ur*.

⁶ i. e. *Whipper-snapper*, *a nobody*.

⁷ This is not dialect, but the epithet is probable.

⁸ This would certainly now be—*u múl tak* = he might take, &c.

⁹ *Meech* and *meecher* are still very common terms for sneak—skulk—and the word is also old—

tu mu urad'čē.—Es vuur'lēe blaiv dhu¹ bae'ūnz ūl g-een naks Zún'dēe. 455
 —Túz aul es oa.* vaur.—Bút es tuul-n, Maar'ēe u-kaedh'u ! un tuul-n
 daewn-ree-ūrt es shaa'n maar'ēe dhu bas mae'ūn een Shuur'weel
 Uun'durd.—Bút dús dhu huy'ūr mu, Zaes'tur Taam'zeen ; doa'n ee
 bee u Laab u dhu tuung een haut ch-úm u-gwai'n tu zai, un dhan
 ch-úl tuul dhu zaumfeen :—Dhu Bae'ūnz, ch-úm umaur's shoa'ūr, 460
 wúl g-een aedh'ur u² Zún'dēe ur u² Zún'dēe zaen'ee-ūrt tu³ vuur'dees.
 U-z⁴ nūt ubeo' tūe un twaun'tee ;—u spuy'sēe Vael'u⁵ un u vút'ēe
 Vael'u⁵ vur ún'ee keen'dees dhaeng.—Dhee noa-s Joa Oa'zgèod úz
 u-raek'nd u vut'ēe Vael'u⁵ : Pèò ! ú-z⁴ u sèò'turlēe⁶ Vael'u t-An'dr ;
 dhur-z noa' Kumpae'ūr. 465

Thomasin. Goa, yu wik'ud Kuun'turvait !⁷ waay dús lee' zoa
 ugúns dhi meend ; un haun u puut voa'r dhu Kwaes'n tuul-n dhu
 wúts-n maar'ēe ?—Uzuydz, zu vuur-z dhu noa's, u muur-tak⁸ Púp oa,
 un meech⁹ oa'f, un¹⁰ kaum noa moo'ūr unee'ūrs dhu.

Margery. Goa, yu Aal'keettoa'tl ? yu guurt fèol'eesh¹¹ trae'ūps ! 470
 Dús dhee dhaengk u blai-vud¹² mu, haun es zaed chèod-n maar'ee ? Ee
 úz nūt zu zaart-u¹³-bae'ūkud naedh'ur. Vur waay ? es wúd-n bee tūe.
 vuur'wurd naedh'ur ; vur dhan ee murt draa baak.—Noa, noa ; vur
 aul haut-s zaed, es oap dhu Bae'ūnz wúl g-een, e-zai, naks Zún'dēe.—
 Un faa'th, neef-s dhē' vaal oa'vur dhu dús, t-oa'n dhurr mu, nur eet 475
 buus mi boa'ūnz.—Bút neef dhai doa'n g-een bi Zún'dēe zaen'ee-ūrt,
 ch-úl tuul dhu, een shoa'urt Kau'mpmēe,¹⁴ es ch-úl¹⁵ buus mi Aart.—
 Bút es mus goo daewn tūe un ; vur ee-z bi eez-zuul aul dheez wuy'ūl. 478

*'Ny in alle þe tyme of his regnyng,
 Theff nor mycher forsothe þer nasse.'*
 (Chronicon Vilodunense, A.D. 1420, ed. Hoare, Stanza 206.)

¹⁰ Here a negative should come in, *un nūt kaum noa moo'ūr*.

¹¹ *Fool* and its compounds are pronounced with the *f*, sharp and distinct.

¹² The inflexion would in this case be fully sounded. In the early editions this was *ee believad*.

¹³ Spelt *zart* elsewhere in the text, l. 54.

¹⁴ *i. e.* in few words. For change of *n* into *m*. See W. S. Dialect, p. 17.

¹⁵ This cannot be right. The pronoun is in the text used twice over = I, I shall, it should read, *es sh'l* ; as the *chell* can be only intended for *shall*. In Ed. 1746, we read *shall borst*, which is of course right. The change is in the later editions, and the alteration was doubtless made to get in as many instances as possible of the *ch*—which after all is the main feature of the dialogues.

* (Note to Ed. of 1778.) *Ho'* is here an Abbreviation of *Hope*.

SCENE the Ground-Room¹ again.

To Andrew enter Margery.

480 *Andrew.* WELL, Cozen Magery, cham glad you're² come
agen: Vor thes Ballet es zo very good,
that et makes³ wone's Heart troubled to read et.

Margery. Why, put et up than,⁴ while es git a Putter o'
Cyder. Wull ye eat a Croust⁵ o' Brid and Chezee,⁶ Cozen
Andra?

485 *Andrew.* No, es thankee, Cozen Magery; vor es eat a
Crub as⁷ es come⁸ along; besides⁹ es went to Dinner¹⁰ jest avore.
—Well, bet Cozen Magery, whot Onser dest¹¹ gi' ma to tha
Quesson es put vore now-reert.

489 *Margery.* What Quesson was et?

¹ *Ground-room* is not dialect. The ground-floor rooms are *dh-aewz* (the house) and *baak-aewz* (back-house). If either are spoken of on the upper floor the expression is *daewn-aewz*—the precise equivalent of the ordinary *down-stairs*. Neither *up-stairs* nor *down-stairs* are dialect. In houses of greater pretension the family living room is *dh-aal* (the hall), and the room for company, seldom used, *dhū paa'ldur* (the parlour).

² Literary. In the dialect it is *yùe bee*, or in N. Dev. very often *yùe'm*, or emph. *yùe haam*. See W. S. Gram., p. 55; also W. S. Dial., p. 19.

³ This whole clause is too literary—no native would thus express himself. *Makes* is not used in N. Devon or Exmoor district, it is always *mak-th*. The impersonal pronoun is not *one* but *anybody*. See W. S. Gram., pp. 38, 39. *Troubled* so used would be *u-truub'ld*—prefix never omitted except for euphony. The natural rendering of the clause would be, in the spelling of the text, 'that et troubleth anybody's Heart to read it.'

⁴ This would be nearly unintelligible to a real native. Such a phrase as *put it up* is impossible. The pronoun would always, even judging from the transcriber's own context, be *en*. Margery would have said *puut-n uwai dhan*.

⁵ *Crust* and *crumb* are peculiar in pronunciation—they have more of the *oo* sound than is conveyed by the *croust* of the text.

⁶ *Chezee* is a misprint. The pronunciation of *cheese* is the same as in received English. *Brid* is rather too fine talk. It would be said probably by Margery if speaking to a 'real gentleman.'

⁷ This use of *as* is much too literary—it has not the sense of *whilst* or

S A I · N d h u ' Graewn-rèom¹ ugee·ŷn.

Tu An·dr ai·ntur Maa·jurëe.

Andrew. **W**UUL, Kuuz'n Maa·jurëe, ch·úm glad yèo·ur² u·kaumd ugee·ŷn : Vur dhús baal·ut úz· zu vuurëe gèo·d, 480 dhut út maks³ wanz aart truub·ld tu rai·d út.

Margery. Waay, puut út aup dhan,⁴ wuy·l es git u púch·ur u Suy·dur. Wuul ee ai·t u krèost⁵ u buurd·n cheez,⁶ Kuuz'n An·dr ?

Andrew. Noa, es dhangk ee, Kuuz'n Maa·jurëe ; vur es ait u 485 krèob uz⁷ es km⁸ ulaung ; zuydz⁹ es wai·nt tu daen·ur¹⁰ jest uvoa·r. —Wuul, bút Kuuz'n Maa·jurëe, haut aun·sur dús¹¹ gi mu tu dhu kwaes·n es puut voa·r naew·ree·ŷrt.

Margery. Haut kwaes·n wauz út ?

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during in the dialect. Andrew would have said *ee·ns es km ulaung* (see W. S. Gram., p. 66), or still more probably *ee·ns es wuz u·kaum·een ulaung*.

⁸ In the early editions we read *came*, but this was quite literary, and was correctly altered. The past tense of *come* is still *come* (or *com'd* before a vowel). See W. S. Gram., p. 46. *Came* would seem to be a modern form. Robert of Gloucester uses *com* :

*'Wende azen to Normandie
from wan he com er.'*—Will. Conq. l. 252.

'A Sein Nicolas day he com.'—l. 254.

In the Chronicon Vilodunense *come* is used for the past tense throughout, *comen* for the plur., and *y come* for the p. part. :

'To Wylton ano þo come he y wys.'—st. 351.

'And sekemen come þedur mony and ffele.'—st. 586.

So Trevisa always uses *com* for the past tense :

'Whanne he com tovore þe duc.'—Norman Invasion, l. 33.

⁹ This word generally loses the first syllable. It is spelt *bezides* in earliest editions.

¹⁰ This idiom is still the common one, and means not *went to dine*, but actually *partook of* and *finished* dinner.

¹¹ This persuasive question should have been in the 2nd pers. plur.—*haut aun·sur dūe·ee gi mu?* In the next sentence he addresses to her Andrew uses the plur.

490 *Andrew.* Why, sure ya bant so vorgetvul,¹ Why, tha Quesson es put² a little rather.³

Margery. Es dont know whot Quesson ye mean; es begit whot Quesson twos.

Andrew. Why, to tell tha vlat and plane⁴ agen, twos thes;⁵
495 Wut ha' ma, ay or no?

Margery. Whot! marry to Earteen?⁶—Es gee tha same Onser es geed avore, Es wudent marry tha best Man in oll England.⁷—Es end amorst zwear chud never marry at oll.⁸—And more and zo, Cozen Andra, cham a told ya keep Company
500 wey *Tamzen*⁹ *Hosegood*, thek gurt banging, thonging, muxy Drawbreech, dagggle-teal'd¹⁰ Jade, a zower-zop'd, yerring, chockling Trash, a buzzom-chuck'd haggaging Moyle, a gurt Fustilug.¹¹ Hare's¹² a Trub! And nif ya keep hare Company, es'll ha¹³ no more to zey to tha.

505 *Andrew.* Ay, thes es Jo Hosegood's Flimflam. — Oh, tha vary Vengeance out o'en!

Margery. No, no; tes none of Jo Hosegood's Flimflam; but zo tha Crime o' tha Country goth.

Andrew. Ah, bet twos Jo Hosegood's zetting vore in tha vurst¹⁴
510 Place. Ha wull lee a Rope upreert.—Whan ha hath a took¹⁵ a Shord and a paddled, ha wull tell Doil, tell Dildrams, and roily

¹ The transcriber is wrong in spelling this *-ful* with a *v*. Adjectives in *-ful* have the *f* quite sharp. (See W. S. Gram., p. 15.)

² *Es aakst oa ee u lee'dl rae'ñdhur* is much more vernacular than the text. *To put a question* is bookish.

³ 'For he hadde ylost meny stalword men in þe raþer batayl.'

Trevisa, Norman Invasion, l. 55 (ed. Morris and Skeat).

'The fifetende day, thai bathe

Sal be mad newe and faire ful rathe.'

Homilies in Verse, A.D. 1330, Signs of the Doom, l. 144.

'Lete not þi luft hond · late nor raþe,

Beo war what þi riht hond · worcheþ or deleþ.'

Piers Plowman, Pass. III. l. 56 (ed. Morris and Skeat).

⁴ This pronunciation is obsolete—the broader *plawyn* has become usual, especially in the Exmoor district, but in S. Dev. and Cornwall it is not so.

⁵ Andrew would certainly have said *dhūs yuur* = 'this here.'

⁶ I do not know the meaning of this word, but from the *to* preceding it, conclude it means *out-right* or *all at once* (the word is quite obsolete).

Andrew. Waay, shoo'ŕ yùe bae'ünt zu vurgit-fèol,¹ waay, dhu 490
kwaes'n es puut² u lee'dl rae'ŭdhur.³

Margery. Es doa' noa haut kwaes'n ee mai'n; es bigit haut
kwaes'n twauz.

Andrew. Waay, tu tuul dhu vlaat-n plain⁴ ugún', twuz dhús;⁵
Wít ae'ŭ mu, aa'y ur' noa? 495

Margery. Haut! maar'če tu ee'ŕteen?⁶—Es gee dhu sae'ŭm
aun'sur es gid uvoa'r, es wúd-n maar'če dhu bas mae'ŭn een aul
Ing'lun.⁷ Es kúd umaurs zwae'ŕ ch-úd nŭ'ur maar'če ut au'l.⁸—
Un moo'ŕ-n zoa, Kuuz'n An'dr, ch-úm u-toa'ld yùe kip kau'mpm'če
wai Taam'zeen⁹ Oa'zgèod, dhek guurt bang'een, dhaung'een muuk's'če 500
draa'buurch, dag'l tee'ld¹⁰ jee'ŭd, u zaa'wur zaap'ud, yuur'een, chauk'-
leen traarsh, u buuz'um chuuk'ud, ag'čejeen maay'ŭl, u guurt fuus'ti-
lugz.¹¹ Hae'ŕ-z¹² u truub! Un-eef yùe kip hae'ŕ kau'mpm'če, es-ul u¹³
noa moo'ŕ tu zai tu dhu.

Andrew. Aa'y dhús uz Joa Oa'zgèodz flúm-flaam.—Oa, dhu 505
vuur'če vai'njuns aewt oa un'.

Margery. Noa, Noa; túz noa'ŭn u Joa Oa'zgèodz flúm-flaam;
bút zoa dhu kruym u dhu kuun'tr'ee gooth.

Andrew. Aa, bút twuz Joa Oa'zgèodz zút'een voa'r een dhu fuus¹⁴
plac'us. U wíl lee u roo'ŕp aup-ree'ŕt.—Haun u aath u-tèokt¹⁵ u 510
shoa'ŭrd ur u-pad'ld, u wíl tuul daay'ul, tuul dúl'drumz, un raay'l'ee

⁷ England is always so pronounced, never as in received speech with two *gs* = *Ing'glund*.

⁸ In the first four editions Margery adds here, 'No more chon't—vor ort's know.'

⁹ Thomasin, with its diminutive *Tamsy*, pronounced Taam'zeen, Taam'z'če, was a very common name, but is becoming rarer.

¹⁰ This form is rare now, but I have heard it. *Tail*, like *plain*, is sounded much broader, *tae'yul*.

¹¹ This epithet is always in the plural, and it is so given elsewhere, l. 118.

¹² This is very emphatic, hence the aspirate and the drawling out of *uur*, the usual *she*, into *hae'ŕ*.

¹³ *Have*. (See W. S. Gram., p. 96.)

¹⁴ *First* is pronounced generally with *f* sharp, *fuus*. Occasionally this is thickened into *v* as in the text, but the *r* is not sounded. *Vuus* is a noun—the technical name of the ridge-piece of a roof.

¹⁵ Always *u-tèokt*. (See W. S. Gram., p. 48.) See also 'Nathan Hogg.'

512 upon enny Kesson Zoul.¹—Ad ; nif es come athert en, chell gee en
 a Lick ;—chell ly en o'er tha Years ;—chell plim en, chell tose en,
 chell cotten en, chell thong en, chell tann en ;—chell gee en a
 515 Strat in tha Chups ;—chell vag en, chell trem en, chell 'drash en,
 chell curry hes Coat vor en ;—chell drub en,² chell make hes Kep
 hoppy.—Ad ! chell gee en zutch a Zwop ;—chell gee en a Whappet,
 and a Wherret, and a Whisterpoop too :—Ad chell baste en to tha
 true Ben.

[Speaks in a great Passion, and shews with his Hands
 how he'll beat his Adversary.³

520 *Margery*. Lock, lock, lock, Cozen Andra? Vor why vore⁴
 be ye in zitch a vustin Vume?—Why, es dont zey twos Jo
 Hosegood zes zo, but only zo tha Crime of tha Country goth.

Andrew. Well, well, Cozen Magery, be't how twull,⁵ whot
 caree I?⁶—And zo, Good-buy, Good-buy t'ye,⁷ Cozen

525 Magery.—Nif Voaken, be jealous avore they be married, zo
 they mey arter.—Zo Good-buy, Cozen Magery. Chell net
 trouble ye agen vor wone while, chell warndy. [Going.

Margery. [Calling after him.] Bet hearky, hearky a Bit, Cozen
 Andra! Es wudent ha ye go away angry nether. Zure and
 530 zure you wont deny⁸ to zee me drenk?—Why, ya hant
 a tasted our Cyder yet. [Andrew returns.] Come, Cozen
 Andra, here's t'ye.⁹

Andrew. Na, vor that Matter,¹⁰ es owe no¹¹ Ill-will to enny
 Kesson, net I.—Bet es wont drenk, nether, except¹² ya vurst
 535 kiss and Vriends. [Kisses her.

¹ *Soul* is always pronounced with sharp *s*. A *zoul* is a plough, and natives never make mistakes in names. See *Devoniensis*, p. 64 ; also note, l. 297.

² After *p*, *b*, *f*, *v*, the *n* changes to *m*. (See *W. S. Gram.*, p. 65.)

³ Not a dialectal word.

⁴ See l. 1 ('Scolding').

⁵ This is a very common phrase, but the *it* is usually omitted. *Bi aew twul*, spoken almost like one word, is the precise equivalent of the Cockney *anyhow*.

⁶ This is possible, but most improbable. It would now be *haut d-aay kee'ür?* or *haut audz uz ut tu mee?* This is the first appearance of *I* in either 'Scolding' or 'Courtship.'

⁷ In salutations and farewells it is most usual to add *t-ee* = to you.

pun ún'ée kaes'n Soa'l.¹—Ad; neef es kaum udhuurt-n, ch-úl gee un 512
u lik;—ch-úl laay un oa'úr dhu yuur'z; ch-úl plúm un, ch-úl toaz-n,
ch-úl kaut-n un, ch-úl dhaung un, ch-úl tan un;—ch-úl gee un u
straat-n dhu chuups; ch-úl vag-n, ch-úl trúm un, ch-úl draash-n, 515
ch-úl kuur'ée úz koa'ut vaur-n, ch-úl druub-m,² ch-úl mak úz kep
aup'ée.—Ad! ch-úl gee un zúch u zwaup;—ch-úl gee un u waup'ut,
un u wuur'ut, un u wús'turpèop thè.—Ad ch-úl bæ'üs-n tu dhu
trùe bain.

[Spai'kth een u guurt paar'shn, un shoa'th wai úz anz
aew u-l bai't-s adversary.³

Margery. Lauk, Lauk, Lauk, Kuuz'n An'dr! Vur waay voa'r⁴ 520
b-ee een zúch u vuus'teen vùem?—Waay, es doa'n zai twuz Joa
Oa'zgèod zaes zoa, bút uun'ée zoa dhu kruym u dhu kuun'trèe gooth.

Andrew. Wuul, Wuul, Kuuz'n Maa'jur'ée, beet aew twúl,⁵ haut
kee'ür'ée aay?⁶—Un zoa, Gèod bwuuy, Gèod bwuuy t-ee,⁷ Kuuz'n
Maa'jur'ée. Neef voa'kn bee júl'ees uvoar dhai bee u-maar'èed, zoa 525
dhai múd aartur.—Zoa Gèod bwuuy, Kuuz'n Maa'jur'ée. Ch-úl nút
truub'l ee ugee'ün vur wan wuy'ül, ch-úl waurn'd-ee. [Gwai'n.

Margery. [Kau'leen aa'dr-n.] Bút aar'k'ée, aar'k'ée u beet, Kuuz'n
An'dr! Es wúd-n ae-ee goo-wai ang'gr'ée naedh'ur. Zhoo'ur un
Zhoo'ur yùe oa'n dinaa'y⁸ tu zee mi draengk? Waay, yùe aa'n 530
u-tae'üstud aa'wur Suy'dur eet. [An'dr rai'tuurnth.] Kaum Kuuz'n
An'dr, yuur-z t-ee.⁹

Andrew. Naa, vur dhaat Maat'ur,¹⁰ es oa noa¹¹ ee'ül wee'ül tu ún'ee
Kaes'n, nút aay.—Bút es oa'n draengk, naedh'ur, saep¹² yùe fuus
kees-n vra'inz. [Keesth ur. 535

Maur'neen t-ee (good morning), *Gèod nait-ee* (good night to you), &c. Buy in
good-buy is always *bwuuy* = *be wi' ye*.

⁸ This is the real old intransitive form of the verb—simply *to refuse*. It is
still used commonly in this form, but is rather rare as a transitive verb.

⁹ This is the most usual form of pledging. In a hay-field the first drinker
usually says before putting the cup to his lips, *Kaum soa'üs, yuur-z t-ee'* (come
mates, here's t-ye).

¹⁰ I never heard this phrase—*matter* is not dialect. Andrew would have
said, *Naa, zu vuur-z dhaat gooth*.

¹¹ This is literary. In such a sentence a double negative would be invariable
—*Es dont owe no ill-will*.

¹² *Except* is unknown—*saep* or *saeps* are common.

536 *Margery.* Ya wont be a zed.¹—[He drinks.]—Well, bet hearky, Cozen Andra; wont ye g' up and² zee Grammer avore ye g' up to Challacomb? Tes bet jest over tha Paddick, and along tha Park.³

540 *Andrew.* Es carent much⁴ nif's do go⁵ zee Old Ont Nell:—And how do hare tare along?⁶

Margery. Rub along, d'ye zey?—Oh! Grammer's wor⁷ Vower Hundred Pounds,⁸ reckon tha Goods indoor and out a door.

545 *Andrew.* Cham glad to hire et; vor es olweys thort her to ha be⁹ bare Buckle and Thongs.

Margery. Oh, no mun; hare's mearty well to pass,¹⁰ and maketh gurt Account¹¹ o' me, good now.

Andrew. Cham glad to hire o' thet too. Mey¹² be hare¹³ may
550 gee tha a good Stub.—Come, let's g' ender¹⁴ than.

[Takes her Arm¹⁵ under his, and leads her.

SCENE *Old Grammer Nell's.*

To her enter Andrew and Margery.

Andrew. GOOD DEN, good Den, Ont Nell.—Well, how d'ye try? How goth et wey ye.¹⁶

¹ You won't be answered or contradicted, *gain-said*. Common phrase.

² *And* in rapid speech would become *m* after *p*. See note, l. 516.

³ See note, l. 114.

⁴ This expression sounds quite foreign to the district. *Es doan kee'är muuch* would now be said.

⁵ This is quite characteristic to leave out the *prep. to* before the infinitive, but it should have been *dùe goo vur zee*.

⁶ Common phrase = *how does she do?* Another equally common would be *How do her bear't up?*

⁷ *Worth* is now always *waeth*.

⁸ *Margery* would never say *hundred pounds*, but would say *hundreds of pounds*. (See W. S. Gram., p. 11.) *Hundred* is spelt *hunderd* in early editions.

⁹ Here the part. prefix is omitted for euphony. At length it would read *to ha a be*. Robert of Gloucester usually wrote *ibe* for the p.p. of *to be*.

Margery. Yùe oa'n bee u-zaed.¹—[u drengkth.]—Wuul, búť 536 aar'kěe, Kuuz'n An'dr; oa'n ee g-uup-m² zee Graam'ur uvoa'r ee g-uup tu Chaal'ikum? Túť búť jest oa'vur dhu pad'eeek, un ulaung dhu paark.³

Andrew. Es kee'ŕnt muuch⁴ neef-s dùe goo⁵ zee Oa'l Aunt Nal: 540 Un aew du hae'ŕ tae'ŕ laung?⁶

Margery. Ruub ulaung, d-ee zai? Oa! Graam'ur-z wuur⁷ vaa'wur uun'durd paewn,⁸ raek'n dhu gèò'dz ee'ndoo'ŕ-n aewt u doo'ŕ.

Andrew. Ch'úm glad tu huy'ŕ ut; vur es au'vees dhaurt uur 545 tùe u bee⁹ bae'ŕ buuk'l-n dhaungs.

Margery. Oa, noa mun; hae'ŕ-z muur'tee wuul tu paas,¹⁰ un makth guurt ukaewnt¹¹ u mee, gèò-naew.

Andrew. Ch'úm glad tu huy'ŕ u dhaet tùe. Mai¹² bee uur¹³ múd gi dhu u gèòd stuub.—Kaum, lat-s g-yaen'dur¹⁴ dhan. 550

[Takth ur aarm een¹⁵ uun'dur eez, un lai'dth ur.

S A I · N O a · l G r a a m · u r N a l z .

T-uur ai'ntur An'dr un Maa'jurěe.

Andrew. **G**EOD-AI'N, gèòd-ai'n, Aunt Nal.—Wuul, aew d-ee traay? Aew gooth ut wa'ee?¹⁶

'Ar king Willam adde ibe king

Volliche pre zer.'

Reign of William Conq., l. 317 (ed. Morris and Skeat).

¹⁰ Mighty well off.

¹¹ *i. e.* sets great store by me. Very common expression.

¹² Mayhap, *mee-aap*, is much more common. *May be* is very bookish.

¹³ The transcriber persists in spelling *her, hare*, but it cannot be right when unemphatic. *Har* is more like it, but too broad. *May* is not so used.

¹⁴ 'Let us go yonder then.' *Yonder* is a very rare word—*lat-s g-yaen dhan* is the usual dialect form. *Yaen* is very common. (See W. S. Gram., p. 84.)

¹⁵ Although this is mere stage direction, it is as well to point out that in the dialect *under* is not used alone, but with either *in* or *down* or *down in* to qualify it—'*Es voun un down in under the jib.*'

¹⁶ This form is the common one in the hills of W. Som. In the vale it is *aew dùe ut goo wai' ee?*

- 553 *Old Nell.* Why, vath, Cozen Andra, pritty vitty, whot's chur.¹ Chad a Glam or two about ma.—Chad a Crick in ma
 555 Back and in ma Niddick. Thoa² chur a lamps'd in wone o' ma Yearms. Tho² come³ to a Heartgun. Vorewey struck³ out and come to a Barngun. Tho come³ to an⁴ Allernbatch; and vorewey fell⁵ in upon ma Bones, and come to a Boneshave.—Bet e'er zenz the Old Jillian Vrinkle blessed vore tes pritty vitty;
 560 and cham come to my Meat list agen.—Well, bet hearky, Cozen Andra: Es hire ya lick a lit⁶ about ma Cozen Magery; ay, and have smelled about her a pritty while. Chawr⁷ a told that⁸ ye simmered upon wone tether up to Grace Vrogwill's Bed Ale.⁹—Well, Cozen Andra, twull¹⁰ do vary well vor
 565 both. No matter¹¹ how soon. Cham all vore,¹² and so chawr⁷ zo zoon's es hired o'et.—Hare's net as¹³ zome Giglets, zome prenkning mencing Thengs be, oll¹⁴ vor Gamboyling,¹⁵ Rumping, Steehopping,¹⁶ and Giggleting; bet a tyrant Maid vor Work, and tha stewardliest¹⁷ & vittiest Wanch that comath on tha' Stones o'
 570 Moulton, no Dispreise.

¹ Quite obsolete. I think the *s* a mistake in the text. It should have been *whot chur*, otherwise it would read *what I I were*. On the other hand there is authority for a pronoun preceding the *ch* (see Glossary, *chave*); but it is strange that in the text just below, l. 555, the same speaker uses *chur* alone for *I were*. *Haut aay wauz* is the present form, *i. e.* compared to *what I was*.

²—² *i. e. then*. (See W. S. Gram., p. 87.) This was the regular literary form in the olden time—

*'Bot whē he had brouzt þo four' kindam² to hepe,
 And won þe cyte of Chest' also,
 He cōmaūdede all men to clepe
 All his lond Englund þo.'*

Chron. Vil. (ed. Hoare), st. 22.

þo is used throughout the Chronicon. See p. 81, note 17.

'Duc Willam was þo old · nyne and þritti ȝer.'—l. 195.

'þo his bataile was ydo · duc Willam let bringe.'—l. 197.

'& Richard þat was þo a child.'—l. 107.

Robert of Gloucester (ed. Morris and Skeat).

³—³ Examples here and following of the still very common omission of the nominative. (See W. S. Gram., p. 34.)

⁴ The article *an* is literary; not used in the dialect even before a vowel. See W. S. Gram., p. 29.

⁵ *Fell* is unknown.

Old Nell. Waay, faath, Kuuz'n An'dr, púr'tëe vút'ëe, haut-s 553
 ch-ur.¹ Ch-ad u glaam ur tûe ubaewt mu. Ch-ad u krik een mu
 baak un een mu Núd'ik. Dhoa² ch-ur u-laampsud een wan u mi 555
 ae'urnz. Dhoa² kaum³ tûe u aart-guun. Voarwai strèokt³ aewt un
 kaum tûe u baarn-guun. Dhoa kaum³ tûe u⁴ Aal'urnbaach; un
 voarwai vaald⁵ een pun mu boa'ünz un kaum tûe a boa'ün-shee'üv.—
 Bút ae'ür zúnz dh-oa'l Júl'yun Vringkl blas'ud voa'r túz pur'tëe vút'ëe;
 un ch-úm u-kaum tu mi Mai't lúst ugee'ün.—Wuul, bút aar'këe 560
 Kuuz'n An'dr; es huy'ür ee lik u leet⁶ ubaewt mu Kuuz'n Maa-
 jurëe; aay, un-v u-smúld ubaewt ur u púr'tëe wuy'ül. Ch-awr⁷ u-toa'ld
 dhut⁸ ee süm'urd pun wan taedh'ur aup tu Grae'üs Vraug'wee'ülz
 bai'd ae'ül.⁹—Wuul, Kuuz'n An'dr, t-l¹⁰ dùe vuur'ëe wuul vur
 bèò'dh. Noa maat'ur¹¹ aew zèò'n. Ch-úm aul voar,¹² un zoa ch-awr⁷ 565
 zu zèò'n-z es huy'örd oa ut. Uur-z nút uz¹³ zaum Gig'luts, zaum
 prengkeen mún'seen dhaengz bee, aul¹⁴ vur gaambu'w'leen,¹⁵ ruum'peen,
 stee'aupeen¹⁶ un gig'lteen; bút u tuy'runt maa'yd vur wuurk, un dhu
 stûe'urlees¹⁷ un vút'ëe-ees waunch dhut kaumth pun dhu stoa'ünz u
 Moa'ltn, noa deespraayz.

570

⁶ Pay a little attention. Not an uncommon expression, borrowed from canine courtship, and the idea is developed in the next line by the *smelling about*.

⁷—⁷ *I was*. The form in the text quite obsolete. This is the same word as spelt *chur*, ll. 554, 555.

⁸ *That* as a conjunction is far less frequently used than *how* or *eens*.

⁹ Ben Jonson, 'Tale of a Tub'—

'A man that's bid to a bride-ale, if he have cake
 And drink enough, he need not veer his stake.'

Act II. sc. i. (Turfe).

'And by that means the bride-ale is deferred.'

Act III. sc. i. (Turfe).

¹⁰ The *w* is quite dropped in *it will*—unless emphatic, always *tûl* or *t'l*.

¹¹ *No odds* is much more natural. *No matter* is quite literary.

¹² *I am all for it* (or *in favour*), and so *I was*, &c. Lit. *I am all forward*. Common expression.

¹³ *As* is not dialect, *like* is the proper word.

¹⁴ See note, l. 201.

¹⁵ Spelt *gambowling* elsewhere, the correct sound.

¹⁶ In early editions we read *steehopping*, *ragrouting*, and *gigletting*. The last word is always pronounced with *t* in the final syllable, precisely as written in the text—*giggle-ting*. This reading is an improvement on the first ed.

¹⁷ *Stewardlest*, *vittest* (no *and*), in early eds. *Vittiest* is the better reading.

571 *Margery*. [Softly aside¹ to her.] Thenk ye, Grammer,
 thenkee keendly.—And nif es shudent ha en shou'd borst ma Heart.
 —[Aloud.] Good Grammer, dont tell me of marrying. Chave
 a told Cozen Andra ma Meend already, thet² chell ne'er marry
 575 vor ort es know.

Old Nell. Stap hether,³ Cozen Magery, a lit and tarn
 these Cheesen.⁴—[Pretendedly private to her.] Go, ya Alki-
 totle,⁵ why dedst⁶ tell⁷ zo, tha wert⁸ ne'er marry? Tha wutten
 ha tha leek;⁹ a comely spreych vitty Vella vor enny keendest
 580 Theng. Come, nif tha wut ha en, chell gee tha¹⁰ good Stub.
 There's net a spreycher Vella in Challacomb.

Margery. Bet Grammer, wull ye be zo good's ya zey, nif zo be,
 vor your Zake, es vorce ma zel to let en lick a bit about ma?

Old Nell. Ay, es tell tha—[Aside]—Cham agest¹¹ hare'll dra
 585 en into a Promish wone Dey or wother.

Andrew. Well, Ont Nell, es hired whot ya zed, and es thank
 ye too.—Bet now chave a zeed ye, tes zo good as chad a eat ye, as¹²
 they uze to zey. Es must go home now as vast as¹³ es can.—Cozen
 Magery, wont¹⁴ ye go wey ma a lit Wey.

590 *Margery*. Mey be¹⁵ es mey go up and zee Ont Moreman, and mey
 be¹⁵ es mant. [Exeunt.]

¹ *U wan zuyd* = on one side, is the vernacular for *aside*. This is but stage direction, and perhaps not intended to be in the dialect.

² *How* is much better.

³ This is still the usual form of *come here*. *Step* is always pronounced *staap*.

⁴ This plural is quite obsolete.

⁵ *Alketole* in first ed. The text is the correct reading.

⁶ *Dest* in first ed., the evidently true reading.

⁷ *Tell* is always used for *talk*—'I heard them telling together,' 'He was telling up all sorts of stuff.' See note to l. 116.

⁸ *Wert* is evidently a misprint, it never can have been used for *wilt*. In first ed. it is *thd't ne'er*.

⁹ *Luck*. *Leek* is surely a misprint in the text. It is the same in all editions, but I have never heard anything like it.

¹⁰ Here the article is dropped on account of two similar vowels coming together. Spoken slowly it would be *gi tha a good stub*. In first ed. read *gi* for *gee*.

¹¹ This word is spelt *agast*, l. 229—the correct reading.

'& is folc uorþ mid him · as hii were agaste.'

Robert of Gloucester, Will. Conq., l. 142 (ed. Morris and Skeat).

Margery. [Sau·flēe uzuy·d¹ tūe ur.] Dhaengk ee, Graam·ur, 571
dhaengk ee keendlēe.—Un·eef es shēod·n ae·un, shūd buus mi aart.
—[Ulaewd.] Gēod Graam·ur, doa·n tuul mee u maar·ēe·een. Ch·uv
u·toa·ld Kuuz·n An·dr mu meend urad·ēe, dhut² ch·úl nae·ūr maar·ēe
vur aurt es noa. 575

Old Nell. Staap aedh·ur,³ Kuuz·n Maa·jur·ēe, u leet un tuurn
dhai·z cheez·n.⁴—[Purtai·ndeen pruy·vut tu uur·] Goa, y·Aal·ki·
toa·tl,⁵ waay dūs⁶ tuul⁷ zoa—dhu wūt⁸ nae·ur maar·ēe? Dhu wūt·n
ae·ū dhu luuk;⁹ u kaum·lee spraay vūt·ēe Vael·u vur ún·ēe keen·dees
dhaeng. Kaun, neef dhu wūt ae·un, ch·úl gi dhu¹⁰ gēod stuub.— 580
Dhur·z nūt u spraay·ur Vael·u een Chaal·ikum.

Margery. Bút Graam·ur, wúl ee bee zu gēod·z ee zai, neef zu bee,
vur yoo·ūr zae·ñk, es foo·ūs mi zuul tu lat un lik u beet ubaewt mu?

Old Nell. Aa·y es tuul dhu—[uzuyd]—Ch·úm ugaa·s¹¹ uur·úl drae
un een·tūe u praum·eesh wan dai ur nuudhur. 585

Andrew. Wuul Aunt Nal, es huy·ūrd haut ee zaed, un es dhaengk
ee tūe.—Bút naew ch·uv u·zeed ee, tūz zu gēod·z ch·ad u ai·t ee, uz¹²
dhai yūe·z tu zai. Es mus g·au·m naew zu¹³ vaas uz es kan.—Kuuz·n
Maa·jur·ēe, oa·n¹⁴ ee goo wai mu u leet wai?

Margery. Mai bee¹⁵ es mai g·uup·m zee Aunt Muur·mun, un mai 590
bee¹⁵ es mant. [Exeunt.]

*'Falsnesse for fere þo ·fleggh to þe freres,
And gyle dud hym to gon ·agast for to deye.'*

Piers Plowman, C. Pass. III., l. 221 (ed. Skeat, E. E. T. S.).

*'Of this meruaille agast was all the prees,
As mased folk they stoden euerichone.'*

Chaucer, Man of lawes tale, l. 677.

'þe Englysshmē þey woxe a gast.'

Chronicon Vilodunense (ed. Hoare), st. 71.

¹² *As* in this sense is not dialect. It should be *sae·ūm·z* (same as), or *eens* they uze to zey.

¹³ This *as* is also literary, and impossible to Andrew.

¹⁴ The *w* in wout is quite dropped in the dialect.

^{15—15} *Mayhap* is much more common—*may be* is 'fine talk.' This sentence, to be vernacular, must be thus—'Mee·aa·p es mūd g·uup·m zee Aunt Muur·mun, un mee·aa·p es mūd·n.' *Mant* is a word in an unknown tongue.

SCENE the open Country.

Enter Andrew followed by Margery.

592 *Margery.* **A**D! es'll zee en up to Challacomb-Moor Stile.—
 —Now must es¹ make wise chuwr² a going
 to Ont Moreman's, and only come theez³ Wey. [Aside.

595 *Andrew.* [Spying her.] Cozen Magery, Cozen Magery!
 stap a lit.⁴ Whare zo vast mun?—[She stays.]—Zo, now
 es zee ya be as good as yer Word; na, and better; vor tha zedst
 mey be chell, and mey be chont.

Margery. Oh, ya take tha Words tether Way. Es zed may be
 600 chell, and may be chont, go up and zee Ont Moreman. Es zed no
 more an zo. Es go thes Wey vor to zee hare⁵ that es oll.
 Bet chudent go zo vur to meet⁶ enny Man in Challacomb, ner
 Parracomb, ner yeet in oll King George's Kingdom, bless hes
 Worship! Meet tha Men aketha!—Hah! be quiet, es zey,⁷
 605 a creeming a Body⁸ zo. And more and zo, yer Beard precketh
 illvavourdy.⁹ Es marl¹⁰ what these gurt black Beards be
 good vor. Ya ha made ma Chucks buzzom.¹¹

Andrew. Well, whot's sey, Cozen Margery? Chell put in
 tha Banes a Zendey,¹² bolus nulus.

610 *Margery.* Then es ell vorbed¹³ min, vath.

¹ In this form the first person singular is still very often as in the text. *Naew mus ees mak wuyz* would be the common idiom at present. It is written *ees* in first ed.

² *Chuwr* must be a misprint. It is spelt *chawr* on the last page = *I were*, and also spelt *chawr* in first ed.

³ *This* is usually *dhee'z* in North Dev., *dhee'üz* in West Somerset.

⁴ I think this must have been intended for *bit*, *staap u beet* is so very common a phrase, and more in harmony with the context.

⁵ *Her* is here emphatic.

⁶ *Meet* is pronounced very short, also *sweet*, *feet*, *keep*, &c. The fine *it* in *pit*, *knit*, &c., of received Eng. exactly represents the sound.

⁷ Spoken rapidly, the *s* before *z* is lost. See numerous instances in W. S. Gram., also see l. 597.

⁸ This would be far more commonly *üneee bau'dée* than *u bau'dée*.

⁹ I never heard this word in the dialect. It might be used, but if so the *f* in *favour* would be pronounced sharp.

S A I · N dh-oa · pm Kuun · trëe.

Ai'ntur An·dr u'vaul'ëel bi Maa·jurëe.

Margery. A D! es-l zee un aup tu Chaal·ikum Moar Stuy·ul. 592
Naew mus ees¹ mak wuyz ch-awr² u-gwai'n
t-Aunt Muur·munz, un uun'ëe kaum dheez³ wai. [Uzuyd.

Andrew. [Spuy·een oa ur.] Kuuz'n Maa·jurëe, Kuuz'n Maa·jurëe! 595
Staa p u leet⁴ Wae'ür zoa vaas, mun?—[Uur staapth.].—Zoa, naew
e-zee yùe bee zu gèod-z yur wuurd; naa, un bad'r; vur dhu zaeds
mai bee ch-úl, un mai bee ch-oa'nt.

Margery. Oa, yùe tak dhu wuurdz taedh'rur wai. Es zaed mai bee
ch-úl un mai bee ch-oant g-uup-m zee Aunt Muur·mun. Es zaed noa 600
moo'ür un zoa. Es goo dheez wai vur tu zee hae'ür⁵ dhaat úz aul.
Bút ch-èod-n goo zu vuur tu mit⁶ ún'ëe mae'ün een Chaal·ikum nur
Paar·ikum, nur eet een aul Keng Jau'rjuz keng'dum, blas úz
wuush'up! Mit dhu mai'n ukaedh'u!—Aa! bee kwuy't, e-zai,⁷
u-krai'meen u bau'dëe⁸ zoa. Un moo'ür un zoa, yur bee'ürd praekth 605
ee'ül-fae'üvurdlëe.⁹ Es maar'ul¹⁰ haut dhai'z guurt blaak bee'ürds bee
gèod vaur. Yùe·v u-mae'üd mi chuuks buuz·um.¹¹

Andrew. Wuul, haut-s-zai, Kuuz'n Maa·jurëe? Ch-úl puut een
dhu bae'ünz u Zún'dëe,¹² boa'lus noa'lus.

Margery. Dhan es-l vurbai'd¹³ mún, faa'th!

610

¹⁰ 'Where is your sweetheart now, I marle?'

Ben Jonson, Tale of a Tub, Act II. sc. i. (Hilts).

¹¹ I have not heard this adjective verbalised, but it is quite in keeping with the spirit of the dialect, only in the case here given it would certainly be *buuzumëe*. (See W. S. Gram., p. 49.)

¹² *On Sunday.* This *a* or *u* has many meanings. (See W. S. Gram., p. 96.)

'Ac sone azen to Engelonde · a Sein Nicolas day he com.'

Robert of Gloucester, Will. Conq., l. 254 (ed. Morris and Skeat).

'y-pyned onder pouns pilate · y-nayled a rode.'

Dan Michel (A.D. 1340), Credo (ed. Morris, E. E. T. Soc.).

¹³ Curiously this word is always pronounced thus, and it was so doubtless when the 'Courtship' was written. Both *bed* and *bid* have the same sound, *bai'd*.

611 *Andrew.* Oh! chell trest tha vor thate. Es dont thenk you'll take zo much Stomach¹ to yer sel as to vorbed min avore zo menny Vokes.—Well, Cozen Magery, good Neart.

Margery. Cozen Andra, good Neart. — Es wish ye well to
615 do.

SCENE Margery's Home.

To Thomasin enter Margery.

Margery. **Z**ESTER Tamzen, whare² art? Whare art, a pope-ling and a pulching? Dost hire ma?

Thomasin. Lock, lock, lock! Whot's the Matter, Magery, that tha leapest, and caperest, and sing'st so? What art tha
620 hanteck?

Margery. That's nort to nobody.³ Chell whistley, and capery, and zing,⁴ vor oll thee.⁵—Bet yeet avor oll,⁶ nif tha wuttent be a Labb of tha Tongue now, chell tell tha sometheng—Zart!⁷ whistery!—Ma Banes g' in a Zendey, vath, to Andra,
625 the spicest Vella⁸ in Sherwill Hunderd.

Thomasin. O La! why thare lo! Now we⁹ shall be marry'd near together; vor mine be in and out agen;—thof¹⁰ my Man dont yeet tell ma tha Dey. Es marl ha dont pointee whot's in tha Meend o'en.¹¹

630 *Margery.* Chell g' in to Moulton To-marra pritty taply, to buy¹² some Canvest vor a new Chonge.

¹ *i. e.* 'You will not have the face,' &c.

² The first *where art* has the accent on the verb, the second on the adverb.

³ One of the commonest sayings in the dialect.

⁴ This ought to be *singy* in the text, as much as *capery*.

⁵ Common phrase = *in spite of thee* or *notwithstanding thee*.

⁶ This phrase, very common in the district, is the equivalent of the *howsomever* of other dialects, and of *nevertheless* of lit. Eng.

⁷ I think *Zart!* is a common quasi-oath like *Zounds!* and not as given in the Glossary.

Andrew. Oa ! ch-úl trús dhu vur dhaet. Es doa'n dhaengk yùe-ul 611
tak zu muuch stuum'ik¹ tu yur-zuul-z tu vurbai'd mún uvoa'r zu
mún'ëe Voaks.—Wuul Kuuz'n Maa'jurëe, gèod nee'ürt.

Margery. Kuuz'n An'dr, gèod nee'ürt.—Es weesh ee wuul tu
dùe. 615

S A I · N M a a · j u r ë e z A e w · z .

Tu Taam'zeen *ai'ntur* Maa'jurëe.

Margery. **Z**AES·TUR Taam'zeen, wur² aa'rt ? Wae'ür urt u-poa'p-
leen un u-puul'cheen ? Dúst uy'ür mu ?

Thomasin. Lauk, Lauk, Lauk ! Haut-s dhu maat'ur, Maa'jurëe,
dhut dhu lai'pus, un kee'üpus un zingus zoa ? Haut, urt dhu
han'tik ? 620

Margery. Dhaat-s noa'ürt tu noa'baudëe.³ Ch-úl wús'lëe, un
kee'üpurëe, un zing'ëë,⁴ vur aul dheë.⁵ But eet uvoa'r aul,⁶ neef dhu
wút-n bee u Laab u dhu tuung naew, ch-úl tuul dhu zaum'feen.—
D-zaart !⁷ wús'turëe !—Mú bae'ünz g-eeen u Zún'dëe, faath, tu An'dr,
dhu spu'y-sees vael'u⁸ een Shuur'weel Uun'durd. 625

Thomasin. Oa Laa ! waay dhae'ür loa ! Naew wee⁹ shl bee
u-maar'ced nee'ür tugadh'ur ; vur muyn bee een un aewt ugee'ün ;
thauf¹⁰ muy mae'ün doa'n eet tuul mu dhu dai. Es maar'ul u doa'n
pwwuyn'tëe haut-s een dhu meend oa un.¹¹

Margery. Ch-úl g-eeen tu Moa'ltn tu maar'u púr'tee taap'lëe, tu 630
buy¹² zum kan'vúst vur u nùe chaunj.

⁸ *Fellow* is spelt *vella* throughout in the text, but this is one of the errors like those referred to by *Devoniensis*, p. 64. See note, l. 462.

⁹ *We* is not heard in the district. This is evidently a slip of the transcriber. Should be *us*, or rather *es*, as in the text throughout, except in l. 378.

¹⁰ *Thauf* is always pronounced with sharp *th*, the direct converse of *though*, its equivalent in received Eng.

¹¹ This form of possessive is much more used than *his*. (See W. S. Gram., p. 13.)

¹² Here it ought to have been *vur tu buy*. (See W. S. Gram., p. 52.)

632 *Thomasin.* Ay, ay; zo do; vor tha cassent tell what mey
happen¹ to tha in thy middles Banes.

Murgery. How! ya gurt Trapes!—Whot dest me-an by thate?

635 Es scorn² tha Words. Ded ort hap to thee in thy middle
Banes? Happen aketha!

Thomasin. Hah! Ort happen to me in my middle Banes? Es
scorn et to tha Dert o' ma Shoes, looks zee, ya mencing, kerp-

639 ing Baggage.—Varewell.³

¹ *Happen* is unknown. This is a simple literaryism.

² *Scorn* is a rare word in the dialect.

³ This word is pronounced with *f* sharp.

The Third Edition has

'So end all the Dialogues.'

To those who are unacquainted with the GLOSSIC SYSTEM, or who have not the key referred to in page 16, the following brief abstract will be found convenient.

The *Consonants* *b, d, f, j, k, l, m, n, p, t, v, w, y, z*, and the digraphs *ch, sh, th*, have their usual values; *g* is always hard, as in *gig*; *h* initial as in *ho!* (only used for emphasis in this dialect); *s* as in *so*, never as in *his*; *r* is reversed or cerebral, not dental or alveolar, and ought properly to be written *ɾ*, but for convenience simple *r* is printed; *ng* as in *sing*, *think* = *thingk*; *ngg* as in *anger* = *ang'gur*; *zh* is used for French *j*, the English sound in *vision* = *vizh'un*; and *dh* for the *voiced* form of *th*, as in *that* = *dhat*. The *Vowels*, found also in English, are *a* as in *man*; *aa* in *bazaar*; *aa* short, the same in quality, but quantity short; *ai* in *aïd*; *ao*, like *o* in *bore*; *au* as in *laud*; *au* the same short, as *a* in *watch*; *ee* in *see*; *ēe*, the same short, as in French *fîni*; *i* as in *finny*; *oa* as in *moan*; *ōa*, the same short (not found in English); *oo* in *choose*; *u* in *up*, *carrot*; *uo*, *u* in *bull*. Dialectal vowels are *ae*, opener than *e* in *net*, French *è* in *nette*; *eo*, French *eu* in *jeune*, or nearly; *eo*, the same long, as in *jeûne*; *ûe*, French *u* in *duc*, or nearly; *ûe*, the same long, as in *dû*;

Thomasin. Aa'y, aa'y ; zoa dùe ; vur dhu kas-n tuul haut múd 632
aap¹ tu dhu een dhi múd-l bae-űnz.

Margery. Aew ! yu guur-trae-űps !—Haut dús mee-űn bi dhaet ?
Es skaurn² dhu wuurdz. Dúd oa-űrt aap tu dhee, een dhi múd-l 635
bae-űnz ? Aa'p ukaedh'u !

Thomasin. Haa ! Oa-űrt aap tu mee-n mi múd-l bae-űnz ? Es
skaurn ut tu dhu duurt u mi shùez, lèok-s zee, yu maen'seen, kyuur-
peen bag'eej.—Faar'wuul.³ 639

uu, a deeper sound of *u* in *up* than the London one, but common in England generally ; *ua*, a still lower and deeper sound ; *ú* (now used for Mr. Ellis's *oe* No. 28, and *ì, èo, ùo*, No. 30) is the *natural vowel* heard with *l* in *kind-le* = *kind-úl*. It lies between *in* and *un*, and etymologically is a lowered and retracted *ì*, as *tùm'ur*, *zúl* = timber, sill. The diphthongs *aa'w*, as in Germ. *haus* ; *aa'y*, long *aa*, finishing with *ì*, as in Ital. *mai* ; *aay*, the same with shorter quantity (a frequent form of English *I*) ; *aew*, *ae* finishing in *oo*, sometimes heard in vulgar London pronunciation, as *kaew* = cow ; *auy*, as in *boy* (nearly) ; *aw'y*, with the first element longer or drawled ; *uw* = *ow* in *how* ; *uy*, as in *buy* = *ì*, *y* in *bite*, *by* ; *uuy*, the same a little wider, under influence of a preceding *w*, as *pwuuy'zn* = poison. *Imperfect diphthongs*, and *triphthongs*, or *fractures* formed by a long vowel or diphthong finishing off with the sound of *ű*, or the natural vowel, are numerous ; thus *ae'ű* (nearly as in *fair* = *fae'ű*) ; *ao'ű* (as in *more* = *mao'ű*) ; *ee'ű* (as in *idea*, *near*) ; *oa'ű* (barely distinct from *ao'ű*, say as in *grower* = *groa'ű*) ; *oo'ű* (as in *woo'er* = *woo'ű*) ; *aaw'ű* (as in *our* broadly) ; *aay'ű* ; *aew'ű* ; *uw'ű* (as *flower* = *fluw'ű*) ; *uy'ű* (as in *ire* = *uy'ű*). Of the imperfect diphthongs *ee'ű* and *oo'ű*, from the distinctness of their initial and terminal sounds, are most distinctly diphthonal to the ear, the stress being also pretty equal on the two elements. The turned period after a vowel, as *oo'*, indicates length and position of accent ; after a consonant it indicates shortness of the vowel in the accented syllable, as *vadh'űr* = *vădh'űr*. As a caution, the mark of short quantity is written over *ěe*, *ěa*, when short, as these are never short in English ; and it is used with *ű* when this has the obscure unaccented value found in *ű-bove*, *mannű*, *natiűn*, etc. The peculiar South-western *r* must be specially attended to, as it powerfully affects the character of the pronunciation. It is added in its full strength to numerous words originally ending in a vowel, and *whenever written it is to be pronounced*, not used as a mere vowel symbol as in Cockney *winder*, *tomerrer*, etc. *That* sound is here expressed by *ű*, as *win'űű*, *maar'ű*.

POSTSCRIPT.

LIST of variations in the readings in the first, third, and fourth editions as compared with the text. (See note to p. 11, also Postscript, p. 60.)

The figures opposite each line denote which edition, in my opinion, has the true reading, if the difference is of any moment.

Line			Line		
	<i>read</i>	Tamzin sister to Margery	347	<i>read</i>	stap <i>for</i> step ¹ 1
		<i>for</i> Thomasin (Title)	348	„	thee! thee <i>for</i> thee, thee 1
	„	Margerys House <i>for</i>	349	„	Gar! <i>for</i> Gar, 1
		Margerys Home 1	349	„	Castn't <i>for</i> Cassent
322	„	dispreize <i>for</i> dispreze 1	350	„	zes I <i>for</i> zeys I 1
323	„	thek <i>for</i> thate 9	351	„	ha was <i>for</i> a was
323	„	and eet <i>for</i> yeet 1	351	„	mad than <i>for</i> mad thoa 9
325	„	vary <i>for</i> very	352	„	thek, <i>for</i> thate 9
326	„	most <i>for</i> most 1	352	„	zes he <i>for</i> zeys he 1
326	„	burst <i>for</i> bost 9	353	„	Add, then ees <i>for</i> Ad,
326	„	well <i>for</i> wall			thoa es 9
327	„	oll <i>for</i> all	358	„	ees <i>for</i> es
327	„	ees zay <i>for</i> es zey 1	359	„	eel <i>for</i> he'll 1
327	„	ees hant a zee'd <i>for</i> es	359	„	Warrant <i>for</i> varrant 1
		gant a zeed 1	360	„	t' Exeter <i>for</i> to Exeter 1
330	„	e'er zince <i>for</i> e're since 1	365	„	Tom Vuss <i>for</i> Tom Vuzz 9
330	„	scorst <i>for</i> scoast 1	365	„	hes <i>for</i> his
330	„	t'ather <i>for</i> tether 1	365	„	thet <i>for</i> that
331	„	zo <i>for</i> so 1	366	„	he begun <i>for</i> he begun
333	„	ee <i>for</i> you 1	366	„	do's <i>for</i> deth 9
339	„	Matter <i>for</i> Mater	368	„	knows <i>for</i> knowth 9
339	„	cou'den <i>for</i> Couden	369	„	Veather <i>for</i> vauther 1
340	„	leke <i>for</i> like	369	„	ha <i>for</i> he 1
342	„	zey o' me <i>for</i> zey o' me 1	371	„	wipe <i>for</i> whipe
345	„	looze <i>for</i> lost 9	371	„	zindeys wi <i>for</i> zendeyes wey
347	„	drumm'd <i>for</i> drubb'd 1	371	„	Bet <i>for</i> But 1

Line		Line	
373	<i>read</i> bezenze <i>for</i> besense	1	427 <i>read</i> Zister <i>for</i> Zester
375	„ quiet <i>for</i> quite (2)	9	427 „ blankets <i>for</i> blonkets 1
375	„ zay <i>for</i> zey		428 „ ees 'll <i>for</i> es ell 1
375-6	„ es (3) <i>for</i> ees (3)	9	429 „ prezently <i>for</i> presently
377	„ be zo mullad <i>for</i> bemullad	1	430 „ zee <i>for</i> see 1
380	„ than <i>for</i> thoa	9	432 „ you <i>for</i> ye
381	„ squeamish <i>for</i> squeamish		437 „ Veather <i>for</i> Vauthur 1
383	„ ees <i>for</i> es	9	439 „ we <i>for</i> wey 9
384	„ zure (2) <i>for</i> sure (2)	1	440 „ zo <i>for</i> so 1
385	„ noteze <i>for</i> notese		440 „ whotjecomb <i>for</i> whatje- comb
387	„ bezenze <i>for</i> besenese		441 „ tha Boy <i>for</i> the Boy
387, 388	donce <i>for</i> daunce		442 „ was ta-en <i>for</i> was taken
389	„ uzeth <i>for</i> useth		443 „ zung zed <i>for</i> sung sed 1
390	„ a zed <i>for</i> a sed	1	443 „ Zaums <i>for</i> Saums 9
390, 391	ees <i>for</i> es	9	444 „ yow <i>for</i> ye
392	„ ha wos <i>for</i> a wos		444 „ Thare's <i>for</i> There's 1
392	„ veddlestick <i>for</i> viddlestick		446 „ bezure <i>for</i> be sure 1
393	„ bargaen <i>for</i> bargain		447 „ Look's zec <i>for</i> Look see
399	„ ees <i>for</i> es	9	448 „ Lissen'd <i>for</i> Lissened
399	„ ee <i>for</i> ye	1	449 „ what es <i>for</i> what's
400	„ zignavies <i>for</i> zignivies	1	449 „ zee that <i>for</i> see thate 1
400	„ to <i>for</i> ta		„ Tamzenenter <i>for</i> Thomasin enter 1
401	„ volus nolus <i>for</i> bolus nolus		453 „ fath <i>for</i> vath 1
402, 403	thek (2) <i>for</i> thate (2)	9	454 „ b'leve tha Banes wull <i>for</i> beleive thy Banes will 1
402	„ ye <i>for</i> ya	9	456 „ downreert <i>for</i> downreert 1
404	„ yow <i>for</i> ya	9	457 „ dont ee <i>for</i> dont ye 1
405	„ statad <i>for</i> stated		458 „ zey <i>for</i> sey 1
406	„ dree <i>for</i> three	1	459 „ zometheng <i>for</i> sometheng 1
408	„ girred <i>for</i> gerred		459 „ amost <i>for</i> amorst 9
410	„ of <i>for</i> o'	9	459 „ zure <i>for</i> sure 9
414	„ t'ather <i>for</i> tether		460 „ other <i>for</i> ether 9
416	„ lock, dost <i>for</i> look, dest	9	460 „ Zendey (2) <i>for</i> Zindey (2)
417	„ vur yore <i>for</i> vur vore	9	460 „ zenneert <i>for</i> senneert 1
418	„ twanty <i>for</i> twonty		461 „ E's not abo' <i>for</i> Es net aboo
418	„ purse <i>for</i> puss	9	463 „ Ees a zooterly <i>for</i> Es a sooterly 9
421	„ ner eet <i>for</i> nor yeet	1	464 „ thare's <i>for</i> there's
423	„ marryd <i>for</i> marra'd		465 „ Countervit <i>for</i> Cunterveit 9
424	„ cud <i>for</i> es coud	1	466 „ tha meend <i>for</i> thy mcend 9
424	„ zwear chudn't <i>for</i> swear chudent		467 „ wudstn't <i>for</i> wudsent
425	„ Squaer <i>for</i> Square	1	467 „ Besides, zo <i>for</i> Besides, so 1
425	„ zet <i>for</i> set	1	
426	„ a lit <i>for</i> a bit	9	
426	„ ees must <i>for</i> es must	9	
426	„ chamber <i>for</i> chember		

Line		Line	
467	<i>read as knowst for as tha</i>	496	<i>read ne'er for never</i>
	know'st 9	496	„ No more chon't vor ort's
467	„ Pip o' <i>for</i> P'p o' 1		knaw <i>after</i> marry at oll 1
469	„ yow Alkitole <i>for</i> ya Alki-	497	„ you <i>for</i> ya 1
	totle 9	499	„ zower - zop'd <i>for</i> zower-
469	„ yow gurt vulesh <i>for</i> ya		sop'd 1
	gurt-voolish	501	„ you . . . ees'll <i>for</i> ya . . .
470	„ ee believad <i>for</i> a beleev'd 1		es'll
470	„ ees zed chudn't <i>for</i> es sed	503	„ this is <i>for</i> thes es 9
	chudent 1	506	„ of tha . . goeth <i>for</i> o' tha
471	„ zo zart <i>for</i> so sart 1		. . goth 9
471	„ ees wudn't <i>for</i> es wudent	509	„ Doil, and tell <i>for</i> Doil,
472	„ vurword <i>for</i> vurward		tell
473	„ ees (2) <i>for</i> es (2)	510	„ Add! . . . gi' <i>for</i> Ad;
473	„ zed . . zey <i>for</i> sed . . sey 1		. . . . gee
473	„ Zunday <i>for</i> Zindey 9	511	„ lay . . . the years <i>for</i>
474	„ ner borst ma <i>for</i> ner yeet		ly . . . tha years 1
	borst ma	511	„ toze <i>for</i> tose 1
475	„ Zendey-zenneert <i>for</i> Zin-	515	„ Add! . . . gi' . . . gi' <i>for</i>
	dey-senneert 1		Ad . . . gee . . . gee
476	„ shoort <i>for</i> short 1	515	„ whapper <i>for</i> whappet 1
476	„ es shall <i>for</i> es chell 1	517	„ Benn <i>for</i> Ben
477	„ ees . . es zel <i>for</i> es . . ees	519	„ ee <i>for</i> ye
	zell 9	519	„ fume . . . ees <i>for</i> vume
477	„ thes <i>for</i> theez 9		. . . es
479	„ zo <i>for</i> so 1	520	„ only that zo <i>for</i> only zo 9
481	„ get <i>for</i> git 9	520	„ goeth <i>for</i> goth 9
482	„ Zyder <i>for</i> Cyder 9	525	„ yow <i>for</i> ye 1
482	„ will ee <i>for</i> wull ye 1	527	„ ees . . . away <i>for</i> es . . .
482	„ bread and cheeze <i>for</i> brid		awey
	and chezee 1	528	„ ma drenk, wull ye ? <i>for</i> me
484	„ came <i>for</i> come 9		drenk ? 1
484	„ besides <i>for</i> besides 1	528	„ yow <i>for</i> ya 1
484	„ Denner <i>for</i> Dinner 1	529	„ Zyder <i>for</i> Cyder 9
485	„ dost <i>for</i> dest 9	530	„ tee <i>for</i> t'ye
488	„ zure <i>for</i> sure 9	532, 534	yow (2) <i>for</i> ya (2)
488	„ yow ar'n't <i>for</i> ya bant 9	535	„ hearkee <i>for</i> hearky
489	„ vorgetvul <i>for</i> forgetful 9	538	„ Ees caren't <i>for</i> Es carent
490	„ ees . . . ees <i>for</i> es . . . es	541	„ vour <i>for</i> vower 9
490	„ ee mean <i>for</i> ye mean 1	541	„ Hunderd <i>for</i> Hundred 1
490	„ what <i>for</i> whot	545	„ Oh, no no mun <i>for</i> Oh, no
494	„ Ees <i>for</i> es		mun 1
494	„ zame <i>for</i> same 1	547	„ thek <i>for</i> thet 9
495, 496	ees (3) <i>for</i> es (3)	547	„ mey <i>for</i> may
495	„ wudn't <i>for</i> wudent	548	„ gi' <i>for</i> gee

Line			Line		
549	<i>read</i>	Ount Nell <i>for</i> Ont Nell	595	<i>read</i>	yow be zo <i>for</i> ya be as 1
550	"	goeth et wi' <i>for</i> goth et wey 9	596	"	may (2) <i>for</i> mey (2)
553	"	Tho chawr <i>for</i> Thoa chur	597	"	yow . . . t'ather <i>for</i> ya . . . tether
556	"	vell <i>for</i> fell	597, 598		ees (2) <i>for</i> es (2)
557	"	zince <i>for</i> zenz 9	598	"	chell . . . g' up <i>for</i> chel . . . go up 1
557	"	Jilian <i>for</i> Jillian	599	"	Ees <i>for</i> es
559	"	Ees . . . yow <i>for</i> es . . . ya	599	"	Wey to zee <i>for</i> Wey vor to zee 9
560	"	smeled . . . pritty <i>for</i> smelled . . . pretty	599	"	that's <i>for</i> that es 9
561	"	yow . . . t'ather <i>for</i> ye . . . tether	600	"	chudn't <i>for</i> chudent
562	"	twell <i>for</i> twull 9	601	"	ner eet <i>for</i> ner yeet 1
564	"	eeshired o't <i>for</i> eshired o't 9	602	"	ees zey <i>for</i> es zey
565	"	Steechopping, ragroutng and gigletting <i>for</i> Stee- hopping and giggletting	604	"	ees marl whot theze <i>for</i> es marl what these
567	"	stewardlest, vittest <i>for</i> Stewarliest and vittiest 9	605	"	yow <i>for</i> ya
569	"	Thenkee <i>for</i> Thank ye 1	606	"	zey . . . Magery <i>for</i> sey . . . Margery
570	"	nif's shudn't <i>for</i> nif es shudent 9	607	"	volus nolus <i>for</i> bolus nolus
571	"	o' <i>for</i> of 1	608	"	ees'll vorbed men fath <i>for</i> es ell vorbed min vath 1
572	"	that, <i>for</i> thet	609	"	thek . . . yow'll <i>for</i> thate you'll 9
573	"	ort's <i>for</i> ort es 9	610	"	yare zel . . . men <i>for</i> yer sel . . . min 1
574	"	hather <i>for</i> hether 9	611	"	many <i>for</i> menny
574	"	lite and tern <i>for</i> lit and tarn	613	"	Tamzin popling <i>for</i> Tamzen popeling
575	"	alketole <i>for</i> alkitotle 9	614	"	Dest <i>for</i> Dost
576	"	dest <i>for</i> dedst 1	615 & sqq.		Tamzin <i>for</i> Thomasin
576	"	tha' rt <i>for</i> tha wert	616	"	zing'st zo <i>for</i> sing'st so 1
578	"	gi' <i>for</i> gee	619	"	yow <i>for</i> thee 9
579	"	spryer <i>for</i> spreyer 1	619	"	Eet a vor oll <i>for</i> yeet avor oll 1
580	"	wullee . . . yow <i>for</i> wull ye . . . ya 1	620	"	zometheng <i>for</i> sometheng 1
581	"	ees do vorce <i>for</i> es vorce 1	621	"	fath <i>for</i> vath 1
585	"	chat eat <i>for</i> chad a eat 9	625	"	eet tell me Ees <i>for</i> yeet tell ma Es 1
587	"	wontee go wi' <i>for</i> wont ye go wey	628	"	zome <i>for</i> some
588	"	ees may g' up <i>for</i> es mey go up	622	"	whot <i>for</i> what
589	"	ees <i>for</i> es	630	"	tha <i>for</i> thy
590	"	Add! ees'll <i>for</i> Ad! es'll	631	"	thek <i>for</i> thak 9
591	"	ees . . . chawr <i>for</i> es . . . chuwr 1	632	"	happen <i>for</i> hap 9
592	"	thes <i>for</i> theez 9	634	"	ees <i>for</i> es

A VOCABULARY OR GLOSSARY,

EXPLAINING

THE MOST DIFFICULT WORDS IN THE FOREGOING
DIALOGUES.



THE original Glossary is reprinted verbatim from the Edition of 1778.

It will, of course, be understood that the etymologies here given are exact reproductions, and are by no means to be considered as correct. Many of them are wrong ; as, for example, *Lock!* from the A.S. word *to look* ; which word, moreover, is said to be *locan*, instead of *lócian*. Many more of these etymologies are simply ridiculous.

The present editor's remarks upon each word are inserted at the end of the respective paragraphs, and **commence with the present pronunciation of the word**, unless obsolete, in Glossic between square brackets [].

The reference figures have been inserted immediately after the word, and apply to the lines of the text.

In many instances words are said to be 'from Ang. Sax.' where no A.S. word is given. In these cases the word presumed to be intended has been inserted in italics and within brackets [?].

When no further definition of a word is given, it must be understood that the original Glossary gives the full meaning as understood at present.

The words of the text which are not in the original Glossary but which seem to need explanation have been added, and are printed in Italics, their pronunciation in Glossic immediately following the word.

I desire gratefully to acknowledge the many valuable hints I have received from Professor Skeat, as well as the kind assistance of Mr. Chorley, of Quarme, in the remarks following.

A

Abomination, 111 [ubaum·inae·ürshn], this word is scarcely dialect, though it is very frequently used by the working class as an expletive. 'Abomination shame,' 'abomination lie,' are very common.

Ad! 17, 72, 85, 93 [ad], an interjectional quasi oath, still very common. Of the same meaning as *Gar!*

Aead-Clathing, 155 [ai'd·klaa'dheen], head-clothing or covering, cap or bonnet (rare). *Clathing* is very commonly used for covering, precisely as *coat* is used in lit. Eng.—as 'a good clathing o' thatch,' 'a thick clathing o' dung.' In both these examples *coat* would be the idiom of received Eng.

Agar, 350 [u gaur], a quasi oath.

Agest, 359, 584, *aghest*, or *agast*, 229, Afraid, terrified; and sometimes used to express such great Terror, as if a Ghost had appeared. [ugaas'] (common). See note, l. 584.

Agging, 75, murmuring, provoking, egging on, or raising Quarrels. [ag·een] nagging (very common).

Agog, 228, going. At present this would be *Zaut ugoo'* instead of *Zet agog*, as in the text. *All agog* is still common in the sense of 'all up for anything.'

Aketha, 456, 604, 636, *Akether*, 76. See note, p. 32 (obsolete).

Alkitotle, 470, 577, a silly Elf, or foolish Oaf. Perhaps, a foolish Creature troubled with Fits or Epilepsies, to which the Elk, in Latin *Alce*, is said to be subject. Q. [aal·kitoa'tl] (obsolete, but not forgotten).

Allernbatch, 24, 557, an old Sore: From the Angl. Sax. *Ælan*, accendere, Botch ut Supra; and then it may signify a Carbuncle or burning Boil. [aal·urnbaach] (common).

A-long, as spelt in some former Editions, but should be *E-long*, means slanting. [airlaung or ulaung]. At present this word means *flat*, not slanting—*all along* = at full length. I have no knowledge of *E-long*. Slanting, in the ordinary sense, cannot here be meant; warped or drawn awry is the meaning. Halliwell gives *avelong*, elliptical, oval. In the *Promptorium Parvulorum* (ed. Way) *avelonge* is translated *oblongus*, with a note: 'This word occurs again hereafter, *WARPYN*, or *wex wronge* or *auelonge* as *vesselle*, *oblongo*. In Harl. MS. 1002, f. 119, *oblongo* is rendered to make *auelonge*; and in the Editor's MS. of the *Medulla*, *oblongus* is rendered *auelonge*. Moore gives the word *avellong*, used in Suffolk, when the irregular shape of a field interferes with the equal distribution of the work.'

Ancest, 80 [unee·üs], near. Used indifferently with *a-nigh*, but always with some verb implying motion. It would not be used to explain a

situation, such as 'the house lies *aneest* the road'—here it would be *nigh* or *handy* the road; but it would be said, 'I wad-n *aneest* the place,' because the *was not* implies *did not go*.

Angle-bowing, 198, 212, a Kind of Fencing against Sheep: From Angl. Sax. [*angel*?] a Hook, or Bending of a Fishing Rod, [*ang'l*-boa'-een]. Note that one *g* only is sounded, not *two* as in lit. Eng. *Angle-bowing*, as described p. 46, is still used on the turf-coped walls of the Exmoor district; and would also now be understood to mean a kind of fish-poaching by means of an *angle-bow* or wire noose fixed at the end of a rod. *To set angle-bows*, is to set wires for game. Any running noose is called *ang'l*-boa'. See *angylle*, Prompt. Parv.; also note to Ed. of 1778, p. 46.

Antle-beer, 274, Cross-wise, irregular: Ab Antæ, the Door-Posts. [*an'tl*-bee'ür] (rare, still in use). The form of two uprights and one cross-piece, like a door-frame. I fail to see any sort of connection between badly-ironed linen and a door-frame. 'Antle-beer, gallows fashion,' is common.

A-prill'd, 194, 313, Sour'd, or Beginning to turn sour; when applied to Milk, Beer, &c.; sometimes to be prick'd or gored, so as to be made to fret or fume. Vide Skinner. [*u-púr'd*] (rare, obsolescent). It is common to speak of cider as 'prick'd' when turning sour, and there is connection between *pritch* (q. v.), or *prick*, and *pritchell*, a blacksmith's punch.

Aput, Sullen; disdainfully silent, with a glouting Look; in a sour dogged Disposition. [*upuurt*]. It is still common to say 'her's a gone off aput.'

Arrant, 396 [*aar'unt*], errand; always so pronounced.

Athert, 198, 512 [*udhuur't*], athwart, across. This word, pronounced as above, is the only one to express *across* or *crosswise* in use in the dialect. A cross-cut saw is always a *dhuurt zau*.

Avore, 17, 29, 73, 108, 122, 199, 261 [*uvoa'r*], before; also very frequently *until*, or *by the time that*. *U-l kip ayn uvoa'r ee-v u-broakt-n ubroa'üd*, 'He will keep on until he has broken it to pieces,' was said in my hearing very recently of a child playing with a picture-book. *Dhik ul lèok dūfurnt uvoa'r ee-z u-fún'eesh*, 'That (article) will look different by the time that (not before) he is finished.' See note, l. 108.

Avore oll, 291 [*uvoa'r au'l*], nevertheless, notwithstanding (the regular phrase).

Avroar, 123, or **Avraur**, Frozen, Frosty. [*uvroa'ür*] (rare). See note 17, p. 37.

An Axwaddle or Axwaddler, 144 (from the Devonshire Word Axen for Ashes), an Ash-padder or Pedlar; one that collects and deals in Ashes; sometimes one that tumbles in them.—Hence an Axen Cat; and sometimes one that paddles and draws lines in them with a stick or poker. [*aaks-waud'l*] a well-remembered but obsolete trade. Not many years ago, coal fires were unknown in the Exmoor district, and *ashes* meant only the ashes of burnt wood or peat; even now the two kinds are carefully distinguished as *aar'shez* and *kowl aar'shez*. Before the cheapening of *alkalies* for washing, *wood-ashes* used to be, and

still are, placed in a large box strainer ; water is thrown upon them, which, when poured off, is quite clear and of the colour of *porter* ; this is called *lie* [luy], and being strongly alkaline is still used in some places for washing, to save soap.

The *axwaddles* used to go about with a pack-horse and collect the surplus dry ashes from farm-houses, paying for them in drapery or other pedlary wares, but seldom in money. Cottagers used only to have sufficient to make their own *lie*. *Axen* for *ashes* is now spoken by some very old men, and the word is also retained in the names of several farms, &c.

Ay, 234. See *Hy*.

B

Ba-arge, 122, 201, 226, 238, from the Saxon [*beark*?], *Majalis*, a Barrow-pig, generally used in Devonshire to signify a fat heavy Person, one that is unwieldy as a fatten'd Hog. (Obsolete.)

Baggage, 44, 279, 639 [bag'eej], a common term applied to females only. *Puurtee oarl bag'eej, uur ai'z, shoar nuuf*. This word has no connection with *Baggaged*. **Bundle** [bun'l] is an equally common epithet for a woman.

Baggaged, 4, or **By-gaged**, Behagged, i. e. Hog-ridden or bewitch'd. [bag'eejd, bigae'ujd] (common), over-looked, hag-ridden.

Banes, 455, 460, 474, 609 [bae'ünz], banns of marriage ; also bands, middle-bands, q. v.

'Andr. *Would that were the worst.*

Fox. *The very best of our banes, that have prov'd*

Wallock. *Come, I'll sing thee a catch I have
Made on this subject.'*

'The Women's Conquest,' 1671.

Banging, 6, 500, large, great. [bang'een] (very common). This word is used only in connection with *gurt*, and generally seems to be merely complimentary to it, adding no particular force as to size, but implying a coarseness of quality, precisely like the Italian *acci*, as in *carta*, *cartaccia*. In the text (6) it implies a hoidenish bouncing as well, in consequence of its being separated from *gurt*. *A gurt banging lie, a gurt banging dog*, are common phrases.

Bannee, 233, 264 [ban'ee], to rudely contradict (still used, not common).

Bare, 546 [bae'ur], simple, plain, unadorned (very common as used in the text).

'Polish. *Before her as we say, her gentleman usher,
And her cast off pages, bare to bid her aunt*

Welcome.'—Ben Jonson, 'Magnetic Lady,' Act ii. sc. 4.

'Fitzdottrel. *That's your proportion ! and your coachman bald,
Because he shall be bare enough.*

Ben Jonson, 'Devil is an Ass,' Act ii. sc. 1.

Barngun, 557, some fiery Pimples breaking out upon the Skin ; or, perhaps, a burning Sore of the Erysipelas Kind, vulgarly called St.

Anthony's Fire: But this is what the Devonians call Ill-thing, from the Angl. Sax. (*beornan* ?) to burn. [baarn'guun], an inflammatory skin disease. I believe it to be *shingles*, which I have heard called *barney-gun* (rare, but still used). See Heartgun.

Barra, 409, or **Barrow**, a gelt Pig [baar'u], this word is not now used alone, but always with pig—barrow-pig (the only term in use).

Baste, 93, 518 [bae'üs(t)], to beat so thoroughly that the beaten one shall steam. All the words for thrashing have various fine shades of meaning.

Bate, 226 [bae'üt], to contend, to quarrel. A *bate*, a passion, a rage.

‘And þat þey repentyd hem wonder sore,
þ' ew' þey mæden azeyn hurr' bate or stryff.’

Chronicon Vilodunense, ed. Hoare, stanza 739.

Beagle, 243 [bai-gl]. I cannot find that as an epithet this word has now any particular force. Its use here seems to mean simply *bitch*.

Beat, 197, or **Peet**, Turf burnt for the Improvement of cold land, commonly called Burn-beating, and in some Counties Denshiring, because frequently used in some Parts of Devonshire. [bai't, beet] (daily use).

Bed-Ale, 564, Groaning Ale, that which is brewed for a Gossiping or Christening Feast. [bai'd æ'ül] (very common). We do not now talk of *groaning ale* but of *groaning drink*. I doubt if the former term was ever used, the latter is still quite common. The term *ale* applies to the festival, not to the drink, as in *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, Act ii. sc. 5:

‘Launce. . . . Not so much charity as go to the ale in a Christian.’

So also *Piers Plowman*, ed. Skeat, Prol. 42:

‘Feyneden hem for heore foode ‘fouȝten atte ale.’

‘Bride-Ales, church-ales, clerk-ales, give ales, lamb-ales, leet-ales, Midsummer Ales, Scot-Ales, Whitsun-Ales, and several more.’—Brand's ‘Pop. Antiq.’ (4to. ed.), vol. i. p. 229.

See note 9, p. 103.

Beest, 196. This I believe to be a mere piece of literary dialect. I have often heard *beeth* [bee'dh] construed with a plural nominative, but never with a singular. See Robert of Gloucester, William of Shoreham, Chaucer, &c., who all use *beþ* with plural construction.

Begit, 493 [bigit'], forget (very common still).

To the true Ben, 19, 519, or **Bend**, soundly and to the Purpose. [tu dhu trùe bai'n] (common).

Bet leetle rather, 210 [bút lee'dl rae'üdthur]. *Rather* means earlier in point of time in the dialect, and is never used to imply a preference, for that the word is *zèo'ndur*, sooner. See note 3, p. 96.

Betwattled, 4, seised with a Fit of Tattling, or betotled and turn'd Fool. [bitwant'ld] (obsolescent).

Be vooor days, 122. See *Vore days*. I quite dissent from the definition here given, which appears to be contrived to render the text

intelligible. The present term is *uvoc'r dai*, meaning before daybreak. In the 'Ancren Riwe' (ed. Camden Society), p. 20, we read:

'& *lestēn vort efter prime ipe winter erliche; ipe sumer biuor deies.*'

To this is a note referring to the Cleopatra MS., giving another reading, '*I sumer biforð marezen.*' Here we have the identical phrase as old as the XIII. cent. clearly meaning *before daybreak*. I think the true meaning of l. 122, however small the connection may be with the text, is "Thou wilt coal varty a-bed until (just) before daylight." One of the very commonest similes for a person who fusses about without doing anything is "jist like an old hen avore day."

Blazee, 233, 264 [*blae-ūzē*], fly into a rage and scold loudly and abusively (very common still).

Blazing, 42, 308, spreading abroad News, or blazoning and proclaiming the Faults of others. [*blae-ūzeen*] (very common). Belg. *oor-blaesen*? to blow in one's Ear, meaning to whisper. One often hears, 'So-and-so will *blaze* it all over the place.'

To Blenky or blenk, 124, to snow but sparingly, resembling the Blinks or Ashes that sometimes fly out of a Chimney, and fall around the Place. [*blaenkē*]. Possibly to *whiten*. This word is rarely used respecting snow, but is very commonly applied to the falling of sparks or flakes of fire. See *Snewth*.

Bloggy, 258. See *Logging*.

To Bless vore, 25, 559 (i. e. to bless for it, with a View to cure it), to use Charms or Spells to cure Disorders.—'She should have needed no more Spell.'—Vid. Spenser's Calender, Ægl. 3d. & Theocriti Idyll. B. Ver. 90. [*blas voa'r*] to charm, very commonly spoken about *warts*. The word probably is used in the sense of to *wave* or *brandish*, as in passing the hand backwards and forwards over the affected part while reciting the *hocus pocus*: this meaning may be derived from the common action used in the benediction:

'*And burning blades about their heads doe blesse.*'

Spenser, 'Faerie Queene,' Bk. i. c. 6.

Logging, 313, looking sullen. (Obsolete.)]

Blowze, 16 [*bluwz*], rough red-faced wench, hoiden. As a substantive this word is now very rare, but *blouzy*, rough, romping, hoidenish, is not an uncommon word applied to females.

'*Whiles Gillett, his blouse, is a milking the cow,
Sir Hew is a rigging thy gate or the plow.*'

Tusser, ed. E. D. S., p. 43.

Blowmaunger, 121, 200, 238 (perhaps from the French *Blanc-manger*, White Meat, a Kind of Flummery), used by the Exmoorians, &c., to denote a fat blown cheek'd Person, as if blown up with Fat by full feeding and junketing; or perhaps it may be applied to one who puffs and blows while he is eating. (Obsolete.)

Boddize, 13, 83, 84 [*baud-eez*], the stiff leather stays worn by country women. I have often seen them worn with no garment covering them, and in that case the state of *deshabille* favours the description in p. 84 (*Courtship*), where 'He takes hold and paddles,' &c.

Bolus nolus, 401, 609 [boə'lus noə'lus], *nolens volens*. This is still a common expression, picked up no doubt originally at the *Suy'zez* (Assizes).

Bone-shave, 23, 258, The Sciatica. See Note to Page 26, also p. 70. [boə'ʌn shee'uv] (common).

Boostering, 295, *Labouring* busily, so as to sweat. [bəʊ'stureen] impetuous, bustling, working in a fussy, blustering manner (common).

Borst, 256, 391, 572. See *Bost*.

Bost, 50, 249 [buust], *burst*. This word is constantly used in the sense of *break*—in l. 50 this is the meaning; she is like a fresh-yoked steer, so headlong that she would *burst*, i. e. break, the plough tackle, however strong. So in l. 220, *bost dha neck o' en*, i. e. 'break the ewe's neck;' l. 249, *bost tha cloam*, i. e. 'break the crockery.'

Bozzom, 63, 72, 607, or, **Buzzom-chuck'd**, 502, The having a deep dark Redness in the Cheeks. [buuz-um chuuk'ud] (still used, rare). See note, l. 607.

Bresh, 82 [brish, buursh], *beat*, *thrash*; indefinite as to implement.

Briss, 156, *Dust*.—**Briss and Buttons**, *Dust and Sheep's Buttons* or *Sheep's Dung*. [brús] (very common). This word does not mean simply *dust*—for that *pilm* [púl'um] is the word—but the fluffy kind of dust found behind furniture, or in old barns. So in the text, *briss and buttons* means the fluffy, cob-web sort of dust to be got from an old shed, or from pulling about fusty hay, and the clinging *burs* of *thistles* or *cly*. In this place and connection, I do not think *buttons* mean sheep's dung.

A Brocking Mungrel, 259, a Mungrel Jade that is apt to throw her Rider.—From the Saxon [*Broc*?] *Caballus*, [and?] a Monger. [brauk'-een muung'grul]. I wholly dissent from the above explanation. Brocking (quite obsolete) meant *badgering*, hence *bothering*, *aggravating*. Mongrel was not applied to horses but to dogs, and hence the epithet in the text is perhaps simply equivalent to *aggravating bitch*. Prof. Skeat says: 'The place in A.S. where *broc* is applied to a horse is contemptuous; the true sense being badger only. The epithet means literally a mongrel dog used for badgering or brocking, without regard to the fact that a mongrel would be of slight use for such sport.' The word *mongrel* is very commonly applied in a contemptuous sense to any creature, man or beast, and conveys the idea of low or bad breeding. 'A mongrel-bred bullock,' 'a lot of mongrels' (sheep), 'a gurt mongrel' (a coarse, ill-bred man), are every-day expressions.

Buckard, or, **Bucked**, 205, when spoken of Milk, soured by keeping too long in the Milk-Bucket, or by being kept in a foul Bucket.—When spoken of other things,—*hircum olens*, having a rankish Taste and Smell. [buuk'ud] (very common). The word is not now used in the senses here given, but is applied to cheese only, when instead of being solid it has a spongy look and is full of cavities.

To Buckle, 291, or, **Buckle to**, to gird up the *Loins*,—to be diligent and active. [buuk'l túe] (very common).

Buckle and Thongs, 546 [buuk'l-n dhaungs], an expression (still used) to imply emptiness, as of the straps and buckles to bind a burden, but without the materials to be bound. See Bare.

Buddled, 136, Drown'd, Suffocated, as if in the Buddle Poll, and serv'd as Tin Oar, when washed. [buud'ld] (rare, but in use). A *buddle-hole* is a hole made in a hedge for a drain.

Buisy (Ab. A.S.) (?), Busky my Boys! [This word does not occur in the text.—Ed.]

Buldering Weather, 205, hot and sultry, tending to Thunder. (Obsolete.)

Busking, 312, running up against one-anothers Busk (*sic*) by Way of Provocation. Q? [buus'keen] (very common), raising the busk—or Americane, 'rizin the dander.' The *busk* is the hair or *bush*, growing along a dog's back, which when angered by another dog he raises on end, or *stivers*. A cat raises her fur also, but I never heard of a cat's busk. So *busking* means doing or saying something to excite another's choler.

Buttons, 156, besides the commonly known meaning of the word, is sometimes us'd to express Sheeps Dung, and other Buttons of that Kind; as also the Burs on the Herb Burdock, but these in Devonshire are call'd Cuckold-Buttons, in some other Places Beggars-Buttons. See Briss.

Button'd, 214. See Buttons.

Buzzom and Buzzom-chuck'd. See **Bozzom**.

Bygaged, 251, 254. See Bagged.

C

Candle-teening, 314, Candle-lighting.—To teen and dout the Candle means to put in and put out the Candle. [kan'l-teen'een] (common). *Teen the candle* = light the candle, is a common expression. See note, l. 314.

To Caniffle, 257, *or*, **Canifflee**, to dissemble and flatter. (Obsolete.)

Cantlebone, 280 [kan'tl-boā'ūn] (common), usually the collar-bone. In the text the expression is equivalent to 'break the back.'

Caree, 228, 263, care. See note 6, p. 50.

Cassent, 127 [kas-n], canst not. See W. S. G., p. 64.

Cat-ham'd, 120, ungainly, fumbling, without any Dexterity. [kyat-aamd or aam'ud] (very common). Generally applied to horses, and especially to moor-bred ponies; but I have heard it used respecting persons, and then it implies *splay-footed*. The more usual form is *cat-hocked* [kyat-uuk'ud].

Caucheries, 183, 243, perhaps for potential Cauteries, Caustics or burning Medicines; but in Devonshire means any Slops or Medicinal Compositions without any Distinction; the same with Couch or Cauch, perhaps from the Gr. (*sic*) miscere, to mix or mingle. [kau'chureez]. *Cauch* is still used in the sense here given, but I never heard of *caucheries*. The word implies rather a plaister or salve than a potion.

Chaul, 244, 256, 554, 555, I had.

Cham, 405, I am.

Champe, 219, a Skuffle. (Obsolete.) I doubt this definition. It is quite common to say, 'I ont ha no more chim-cham,' *i. e.* no more nonsense, objection, hesitation.

A Change or Chonge, 631, a Shirt or Shift;—because it should be often changed. [chanj]. This pronunciation is not like Eng. *change*, but the same as in *flange*. Still the regular name for a *shift*.

Chant, 231, I am not.

'Chave, 206, 211, 372, 396, *i. e.* Ich have, I have.—And so 'ch for Ich is prefixed to many other Words, viz. 'Mey be chell and may be chon't;' *i. e.* It may be I shall, and it may be I won't or will not. [This form of *I* is entirely obsolete and forgotten in the district. I cannot but think that its use in the text is much exaggerated, and the more so as it is in one or two instances used in evident error. Before Shakspeare's time all these words were written *y chave*, *i cham*, *icholle*, *y chull*, &c. See 'Essay' by 'Somersetiensis,' p. 73.

Chawnt, 245, I will not; *Chont*, ll. 598, 600.

Chawr, 563, 565. See *Chur*.

Chell, 246, 404, 413, 421, I shall.

Chingstey, 302 [cheen'stai], chin-stay, the cap-strings tied under the chin. The leather strap which fastens a bridle by passing round the jaw is called a *chin-stay*, but I never heard the term applied as in the text.

Chittering, 63, 309 [chút'ureen]. This word (still very common) implies something between *chattering* and *tittering*. The noise made by a number of sparrows is called *chittering*. Applied to a person, it signifies something lower than chatter—something as meaningless as the *twittering* of sparrows. See note, l. 309.

'The feathered sparrowe cald am I;
In swete and pleasaunt spryng
I greatly doe delight, for then,
I chitter, chirpe and syng.'

Kendall, 'Flowers and Epigrammes,' A.D. 1576.

Chocklee, 232, to cackle. See *Chockling*.

Chockling, 44, 45, 311, 502, the Cackling of a Hen when disturbed; and when spoken of a Man or Woman, means hectoring and scolding. [chaak'leen]. A hen always *chuckles*, never *cackles*.

To chonge a life. See note 9, p. 87.

Chongy, 123 [chaun'jée], changeable, unsettled, stormy—applied to weather (very common).

Chounting, 39, 310, taunting, scornfully reviling, or jeering. This is not derived from chanting, nor has any relation thereto, unless meant in a harsh disagreeable Tone. Vide *Chun*. [chuwn'teen] (still used). The word implies mumbling or mouthing, but more in the way of complaint than abuse.

Chucked, 302 [chuukt], choked. This word is still always pronounced thus.

Chuer, 223, in other Counties a Chare, a Jobb of Work; generally applied to the Work of a Person who assists on all Occasions, and in different Kinds of Work: Hence a Chare-woman or Chewrer, who helps the Servants in a Family. [chèo'ur in N. Dev., chea'ür in W. Som.] (very common). See note 1, p. 50.

To Chuery or Chewree, 281, 291, to assist the Servants, and supply their Places occasionally, in the most servile Work of the House. [chèo'ürée, choa'ürée]. *Uur du choa'ürée*, means that she goes out for hire as a charwoman. See note, l. 223.

Chun, 14, 244, 278, 287, Quean, or Woman, Q?—But a Quean formerly meant a Whore, and generally now a bad sort of a Woman. [*Chun* is obsolete, but quean [kwee'ün] is very common. 'Her's a nice old quean' may be often heard.]

Chups, 101 [chuups], chops, *i. e.* cheeks.

Chur, 554, 555, I was. See note 1, p. 102.

Chuur, 593. See *Chur*.

Clathing, Cloathing—**Clathers**, 135, Clothes. [klaa'dheen, klaa'dhurz] (very common). See Aead-Clathing.

Clam, 133, a Stick laid over a Brook or Stream of Water to clamber over, supplying the Want of a Bridge, a Clap or Clapper. [klaam] called also more frequently a *clammer*, is still a common name for a board or pole laid across a brook for a foot-bridge.

Clome, 249, (perhaps from Loam), Earthen-ware. [kloa'm] (the common name for crockery). Spelt *cloam* in the text.

Coad, or Caud, 148, unhealthy, consumptive, or cored like a rotten Sheep. [kaod] common disease of sheep, through feeding on wet land. Cf. A.S. *côð*.

Coal-varty, 122, 272. See note, p. 36.

Coander, 143 [koa'ndur], corner. The insertion of a *d* in this and other words, as *taavuldur*, tailor, is still a peculiarity of this dialect. See W. S. G., p. 19.

Cockleert, 110 (*i. e.* Cock-light), Diluculum, the Dawn, when the Cock crows: In the Evening, Crepusculum. [kauk-lai't] (very common).

Cod-Glove, 92, a Furze-Glove without Fingers. [kaud gluuu] (obsolescent), now generally called 'hedging glove.'

To Coltee, 265, 296, to act the Hobby-horse, to be as playful as a young Colt. [koal'tée] (very common).

Colting, 46 [koa'lteen], romping in a very opprobrious sense, when applied to a woman (common). Chaucer has *coltish* (Halliwell). See also *Cymbeline*, Act ii. sc. 4.

Compare, 465 [kmpae'ür], comparison (very common).

'This offspring of my braine, which dare not scarcely make compare with the foulest.'—*'Optic Glasse of Humours,'* A.D. 1639.

To Condiddle, to waste, disperse, or convey away secretly or imperceptibly. [kundúd'l] (still in use). 'I'd a got ever so many old spade guineas wan time, but they be all a condiddled.'

Condiddled, 290, insensibly wasted away.—Spoken of Goods or Substance, clandestinely and gradually spent and consumed.

Coronall Oath, 365 [kaur'nurul oa'ũth], an oath as solemn as that sworn before a coroner (common).

Cort, 210, 213, 389, intended for the past tense of *catch*. No such form of tense now exists in the dialect, but if it ever did *there* would be sounded as in *thort* = *thought*. See W. S. Gram., p. 46.

Cotton, 77, 514 [kaut'n], to beat, to whack. The use of this word implies an instrument, and not a drubbing with fists or bare hands. See *Lace*. (Still very common.)

To Creem, 326, 605, to squeeze, and as it were to cramp. [krai'm] (still in use).

Crewdling, 159, a cold, dull, unactive and sickly Person, whose Blood seems to be as it were curdled. [krèo'dloen] (still used). †

Crewnting, 43, 45, or **Cruning**, Groaning like a grunting Horse. [krèo'nteen] grunting, complaining, lackadaisical (common).

The Crime of the Country, 508, 522, the whole Cry, or common Report of the Neighbourhood. [kruym u dhu kuun'trée] (still in use).

Crock, 248, always means a Pottage-Pot, when not distinguished by an Adjunct; but besides this Porridge-Crock (as 'tis sometimes call'd) there is the Butter-Crock, by which the Devonians mean an Earthen Vessel or Jar to put Butter in; and the Pan-Crock, which see in its place. [krauk]. The crock is an iron pot of peculiar and well-known shape. It is nearly a globe, having a swinging handle, by which it is hung up to the *chimney crook*, and has three short projections by way of legs. Moreover, it has always three horizontal rings upon its circumference. Other vessels and utensils change their fashions, *crocks* never do.

A Croud, 388, 391, a Fiddle. [kraewd] (obsolescent).

*'This fiddle is your proper purchase,
Won in the service of the churches;
And by your doom must be allow'd
To be, or be no more, a crowd.'*

Butler, '*Hudibras*,' Pt. I. c. ii. l. 1002.

*'A lacquey that can . . . wait mannerly at a table . . .
Warble upon a crowd a little.'*

Ben Jonson, '*Cynthia's Revels*,' Act i. sc. 1.

Crouder, 392 [kraew'dur], fiddler (common).

Crown, 86 [kraewn], to strike on the head (rare, but not obsolete). The use of some instrument is implied in this word.

A Crub, 486, a Crumb of dry Bread, with or without Cheese. [krèob] (obsolescent).

To Cuff a Tale, 298, to exchange Stories, as if contending for the Mastery ;—or to canvas a Story between one and another. (Obsolete.)

Curry, 89, 516 [kuur'ée], to thrash, to whack. 'I'll curry your hido for you,' is a very common threat. Some weapon is here also implied.

Cuttled, 107, 308 [kuut'ud], a word of rather general meaning, implying crabbed, ill-conditioned, snappish (rare, obsolescent).

D

Daggle-teal'd, 501. See *Dugged*.

The Very Daps of a Person, 230,—The Aptes, Aptitudes or Attitudes: The exact Likeness of another, in all his Gestures and Motions. [dhu vuur'ée daaps] (very common).

Deeve, 123 [deef], deaf. See note 16, p. 35.

Dem! 106, 139, You Slut! [dae'üm] (very common). This word does not now mean *you slut!* but its use in speaking to any woman would be insulting, without conveying any definite implication.

Good Den, 551, Good E'en, Good Even.—An Afternoon Salutation. —Vide Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*:

'Mercutio. God ye Good e'en, fair Gentlewoman!

Nurse. Is it Good e'en?

Mercutio. 'Tis no less I tell you,' &c.

[gèod ai'n] (common). The *good den* of the text is impossible.

Deny, 530 [dinaa'y], to refuse. This word is still commonly used as in the text, p. 98—'You wont deny to see me drenk.' A quite authentic story is told of a man standing up in a church, not very far from Parracombe, nor very long ago, to forbid banns thus: 'I deny it and defy it, th' ummun's mine!'

'And now he left that pilgrims might denay
To see Christ's tomb, and promis'd vows to pay.'

Fairfax, '*Tasso*,' i. 23.

To Dere, to hurry, frighten, or astonish a Child.—See *Thir*. (Obsolete.)

Dest, 35, 37, 46, 57, 60, 79, 129. See *Dist*.

Deth, 366 [deth, dúth], doth. This pronunciation is still that most heard in N. Dev., and has certainly been so for above 500 years.

'þe King Phelip of France · þe lasse þo of him tolde,
& drof him to busemare · as me ofte deþ þan olde.'

Robert of Gloucester, *Will. Conq.*, l. 463 (ed. Morris and Skeat).

'Ac ȝyf þou nart, ich cristni þe;
And deþ þat his to donne.'

William of Shoreham, A.D. 1307, '*De Baptismo*,' l. 125.

To tell Dildrams, 511, and **Buckingham-Jenkins**, 145, to talk strangely and out of the Way.—The latter seems to be an Allusion to

some old incredible Story or Ballad concerning one Jenkins of Buckingham: Q. Whether that Jenkins, who is said to have liv'd to the Age of 167 Years was a Buckinghamshire Man? or what other Person of that Name may be alluded to? (Obsolete.)

The Dimmet, 163, 170, the Dusk of the Evening. [dúm'ut] (very common), the evening twilight.

No Direct, 149, no plain downright Truth, and consequently no Trust to be given. [noa durak'] (very common), no reliance.

Dispreise, 68, 570 [deespraayz], a very expressive phrase, still very common, for which no precise equivalent exists in lit. Eng. In l. 68 its use implies that in proclaiming Roger Hill's character to be equal to any other, she by no means wished to put a slight upon the rest.

'Pandarus. *I will not dispraise your sister Cassandra's wit.*'

Shakspeare, 'Troilus and Cressida,' Act i. sc. 1.

Dist, 31 [dús(t)], dost. See W. S. G., p. 35, on the use of the 2nd pers. sing.

Distracted, 442 [deestraak'tud], mad. This is a word of very common use. 'I be amost distracted wi the tooth-ache.' 'Poor blid, her's most distracted, ever zince he died;' i. e. her husband died.

'*Better I were distract,*

So should my thoughts be sever'd from my griefs.'

Shakspeare, 'K. Lear,' Act iv. sc. 6.

To Doattee, 143, to nod the Head when Sleep comes on whilst One is sitting up. [doa'úttee] (very common). The action is occasionally to be noticed in church.

Docity, 209 [daus'uttee], gumption, knack, handiness (very common still).

To tell Doil, 137, 145, 511, to tell like a sick Man when delirious. (Obsolete.) Compare To Dwallee.

The Dorns, 274, the Door-Posts. [duurnz] (the usual name). This word is quite technical, and is applied to the frame to which a door is 'hung,' when this frame is made of solid, square timber, such as is usually the case in buildings of the cottage, stable, or barn class. The framework of doors in better-class buildings is usually flat, and is then called *door-jams* or *door-linings*. See Antlebeer.

It Doveth, 125, it thaws. [doa'vuth] (obsolescent).

The Dowl, 173, 174, 383, 445, or **Dæul**, the Devil. [daew'ul] (rare, but not unknown).

Dowl vetch tha, 29 [dhu Daew'l vaech dhu], *the devil fetch thee*, a disease of which the context sufficiently explains the meaning. It would be quite well understood nowadays what was meant by such an expression, but it is rare. It implies the almost severest reproach that can be uttered to an unmarried woman.

Drade, 135 [drae'üd], drew. See note 9, p. 43. This is a good example of a strong verb in lit. Eng. remaining weak in the dialect. See W. S. G., p. 46.

Drash, 94, 346, 515 [draash, draarsh], to thrash. When used for *drub* it implies some weapon, as stick or cudgel. The word would not be used to signify a mere drubbing with hands or fists. See *Lace*.

A muxy Draw-breech, 7, 501, a lazy filthy Jade, that hangs an A-se as if overladen by the Dirt at her Tail. [draa-bürch] (common).

Drenking, 196 [draeng-keen]. In Devonshire this is the food, *i. e.* meat and bread and cheese, given in the afternoon to labourers during hay-making and harvest. Called in Somerset *vower o'clocks* or *arternoons*. It has nothing to do with the cider allowance, which is quite understood to be going on all day, often *ad lib*. The word *drink* is applied to malt liquor only. 'A drap o' drink' means 'a drop of ale.' 'A dinner and drinkings' is the usual term for a landlord's feast, meaning the dinner with pipes and grog to follow.

Dressing, 273 [dras'een], clothes, linen.

Drow, 245 [droa], throw.

Drow vore, 175, 176, 180, 309 [droa voa'r], to twit (very common still). See note 5, p. 44.

To drub, 347, 516 [druub], to beat, with or without weapon (seldom used—more Cockney than provincial). See *Lace*.

Dugged, 101, 135, 203, **Dugged-teal'd**, 16, *Dugged-yess*, 44, and **Daggle-teal'd**, Wet, and with the Tail of the Garment dragg'd along in the Dirt. [duug'ud] (common). Sheep when in a well-known dirty state are said to be *dugged-tailed*.

To Dwallie, 137, or **Dwaule**, to talk incoherently, or like a Person in a Delirium. [dwau'lee] (still used). A man in his cups, who talks in a rambling hiccoughing style, is said to *dwallie*.

E

Earteen, 496. See note 6, p. 96.

Eart one, eart t'other, 159, 160, 225,—Now one, then the other. (Obsolete.)

Ee, 128 [ai', rarely ee'], eye.

Een, 229 [ee'n], end (common).

Egging, 307, spurring on, or provoking. [ag'een] (See *Agging*.)

E-long, 275, slanting. (See *A-long*.)

Elt, See *Ilt*.

En, 364 [un, 'n], him; 214, her. See note 6, p. 49.

'But what was that Zin Valentine?

Did you ever know 'un, goodman Clench?

* * *

As the 'port went o' hun then, and in those days,'

Ben Jonson, 'Tale of a Tub,' Act i. sc. 2.

Es, 2, 10, that is Ise (the Scotch of the Pronoun Ego) which, as well as Ich, is sometimes used in Devon for I.—(See *Chave*.)—Es or Ez is also

sometimes used for *is*. [I entirely dissent from this. The use of *es* in the text is exaggerated but not impossibly frequent. It is the regular *us* of Devonshire used as a nominative. It is to be heard daily throughout N. D. pronounced *ess*, and is nothing more than the very common substitution of the plur. for the sing., as in the Cockney *let-s look* for *let me look*. This word is spelt *ees*, ll. 2, 176, but when so pronounced it is used interrogatively only. See W. S. Gram., p. 34.]

F

Fath ! 19, 345, 347 [faa'th], By my faith ! still about the most frequent exclamation of asseveration to be heard in N. Dev. and the Exmoor district of Som. It occurs many times in the text, but is generally spelt *vath*. This, however, is wrong. In some instances, *e. g.* l. 19, it is *fath* ! the true pronunciation. See *Fy*.

Fibbee, 264 [fúb-ee], to lie (rare).

Flimflam, 505, 507 [flúm-flaam], idle talk (very common still) : quite different from *chim-cham*. See *Champe*.

' *This is a pretty flim-flam.*'

Beaumont and Fletcher, 'Little Fr. L.,' Act ii.

' *These are no flim-flam stories.*'

Ozell, 'Rabelais' (Trans.), Prol. Bk. ii. vol. ii. p. 4.

Foust or *a-foust*, 155, Dirty and soil'd ; but this Word is not used in Devonshire to express mouldiness, as in some other Counties. [fuwst] (very common). This word implies dusty from the winnowing of corn, or from hay, rather than dirty ; or if soiled by mud or other filth it must have become dry or 'dried on' before it would be called *foust*. The word *fousty* is applied to hay or straw when in a bad condition.

Fulch or *Vulch*, 67, a pushing Stroke with the Fist, directed upward ; —from *fulcio*, *fulcire*, to prop up or support. [vuulch] (used but rarely).

Full-stated, 405, Spoken of a Leasehold Estate that has Three Lives subsisting thereon ; that is, when it is held for a Term, which will not determine till the Death of the Survivor of Three Persons still living. [vèol stae-utud] (very common). See notes to ll. 405, 406.

The whole Fump of the Business, 34, for *Frump*, (Sanna) (?)—The whole of the Jest ; or all the Circumstances of a Story, and the Means by which it came to such an Issue. (Rare.)

Fusty-lugs, 118, 502—spoken of a big-boned Person,—a Great foul Creature. [fuus-tilungz] (common). Used only in the plural. The foulness implies bad smelling.

Fy ! [faa'y] = *par foi*, as common an expression in Devonshire as its analogue is in France—'Are you quite sure? *Ees fy* !' *Oh fie* ! is a common exclamation of disapproval.

In *Prompt. Parv.*, p. 159, ed. Way, Camden Soc., 1865, is a note :

'In the Wicliffite version occur the following passages: "*He that seith to his brother Fy (al. fugh) schal be gilty to the counsell.*"—Matt.

v. 22. “*And as thei passiden forth, thei blasfemed him, movyng her heddis, and seiynge, Vath, thou that distriest the temple,*” &c.—Mark v. 29.’

Compare also Ps. xxxv. 21, and Ps. xl. 18, Prayer Book version.

G

Gambowling, 131 [gaambuwlēen], gambolling, frisking. This very common word is always pronounced thus—accent on penult. *Gamboyling*, 141, 568.

The Gammerels, 153, the lower Hams, or the Small of the Leg. [gaamʹurulz] (common), of a quadruped, the projecting joint or elbow of the hind legs; of a human being, the under sides of the thighs just above the bend of the knee.

A Gapesnest or Gapesness, 186, a Wonderment, a strange Sight.—‘Fit only for a Gapesness,’ i. e. Fit only to be stared at, as some strange uncommon Creature. [gaaps-naes] (very com.), a gazing-stock.

Gar, 349 [gaur], a quasi oath, still one of the commonest.

Geowering, 309, or **Jowering**, Brawling or Quarrelling. [jaawʹureen] (very common), growling, grumbling in a quarrelsome manner. In the Prompt. Parv. this word is *Iorowre* and *Iuowre*, *susurro*, and in a note (p. 268, ed. Way) is said to be onomatopœic, in the same sense that the sound of some birds is termed *jurring* or *jarring*. In the ‘*Liber Vocatus Femina*’ (MS. Trin. Coll. Cam.) it is said ‘*coluere jurrut*, and *cok syngeb*.’ Cotgrave gives ‘*Bocquer*, to butte or jurre;’ also ‘*Heurter*, to knock, jur, or hit violently.’ Surely the dialect word to *jower* is more expressive than any of these for a murmuring, grumbling growl.

Gerred, 47, 48, 154, or **Girred**, for Gorred; Dirty or bedaub’d. [guurʹud] (heard occasionally).

Gerred-teal’d Meazles, 408, Filthy Swine;—Because frequently scrophulous, or, in many Places, spotted. (Obsolete, unknown.)

Getfer, 226 [gaetʹfer] (*Gefter* in some editions), gaffer, neighbour.

Gigleting, 131, 141, 568 [gigʹlteen], giggling, silly, laughing at nothing. See note 6, p. 39.

Giglet, 566 [gigʹlut], a giddy, silly romp, one who grins or giggles at nothing, when applied to a woman; a wastrel, a good-for-nothing, when applied to a man (very common). The Prompt. Parv. has (pp. 193-4, ed. Way) ‘*Gybelot*, *gyglot*, *gygelot*, *ridax*, *agagula*. Ben Jonson also uses *giglot*, a wanton girl (Glossary to ed. Gifford, Moxon, 1838). See also Halliwell; ‘Measure for Measure,’ Act v. sc. 1; ‘1 Henry IV.’ Act v. sc. 1.

‘If this be
The recompence of striving to preserve
A wanton giglet honest, very shortly
’Twill make all mankind pandars.’

Massinger, ‘Fatal Dowry,’ Act iii. sc. 1.

Glam, 149, a Wound or Sore, a Cut or Bruise, Botch or Swelling, &c. an accidental Hurt. Vide Lampsed. [glaam] (obsolescent).

*'A pottage for a gleymede stomak,
bat may noȝt kepe mete.'*—See Prompt. Parv. p. 198.

Glumping, 39, 41, 313, Looking sullen; Dark and lowering, gloomy or glum. [gluum'peen] (very common).

Gooddee, 58, 262 [gèod'ëe], to improve, to get on. Used very commonly in speaking of cattle. *Dhai sheep-l shoa'r tu gèod'ëe*, 'Those sheep will (be) sure to thrive.'

To Gookee, 145, To have an awkward nodding of the Head, or Bending of the Body backward and forward. [gèok'ëe] (common), to bend backward and forwards, like a cuckoo's well-known swing. To act the cuckoo [gèok'eo].

A Gore-Coat, 154, A Gown or Petticoat gored, or so cut as to be broad at the Bottom, and narrower at the upper Part; such as may be seen in some antient Pictures, particularly of Q. Elizabeth; from Gore a Pleit or Slip.—Vide Ball's Edit. of Spenser's Calander, Ægl. 3. [goa'ür koo'üt] (common).

*'Betere is polien whyle sore
þen mournen euermore.
Geynest vnder gore,
Herkne to my roun.'*

Alysoun, l. 41, 'Specimens of Lyric Poetry,' A.D. 1300
(ed. Percy Soc.).

*'An elf-quene shall my leman be
And slepe under my gore.'*

Chaucer, 'Cant. T.,' l. 13,719.

'Goore of a smocke, poynte de chemise.'—Palsgrave.

'Gheroni, the gores of a woman's smocke.'—Thomas, 'Ital. Gram.'

Gottering, 187. See *Guttering*.

To Grabble, 376—for Grapple. [grab'l] (very common), to seize tightly, to hold firmly.

Grammer, 537, 542 [graam'ur], grandmother; applied to any old woman.

To Grizzle, 312, to grin, or smile with a sort of Sneer. [gúr'zl] (very common), to laugh in a mocking manner.

A Grizzle-de-mundy, 78, a foolish Creature that grins or laughs at any trifling Incident. [gúr'zl-di-muun'dëe] (very common).

Gurt, 6, 15, 39, 118, Great. [guurt] (always thus).

Guttering, 10, 11, 187, Guttling and devouring, eating greedily. [guut'ureen] (very common).

H

Ha, 167, 214 [u], he, she. See note, l. 214. See also W. S. G., p. 96.

*‘Nixt þan : ha zette strengþe · þet þe vyendes
þet slezþe zent to zygge to keste out.’*

Ayenbite of Inwyt (A.D. 1340), E. E. T. S., ed. Morris, p. 263.

The ‘Chronicon Vilodunense,’ which is a life of St. Editha, speaks of *her* throughout as *he*. *She* is not once to be found.

*‘And Kyng Egbert sestre also he was
And þere inne also hee was ybore.’*—Stanza 35.

*‘Erle Wolstons wyff forsothe hee was
Or he toke ye mantell and þe ryng
And to make a relygiose house of hur owne place
He prayede hur brother Egbert þe kyng.’*—Stanza 36.

‘His owne spencer’s douȝt he was.’—Stanza 44.

I much doubt if this is from A.S. *heo*. See En.

Ha-ape, 51, Stop, or keep back,—(To Ha-ape,) is generally applied by Plowmen, to the forcing the Oxen backward, to recover the proper Direction of the Furrow, which is termed Haaping them back; and the Word of Command to the Bullocks in this Case is Haape! Haape back!—l. 51.—‘nif Vauther dedn’t haape tha,’ i. e. If Father did not stop, restrain, and force thee to a contrary Course. [hau’p] (very common). The use of this word would convey an extra insult, as implying that the father would treat his daughter, and use the same language to her, as he would to a bullock. The word is thus very forcible in connection with *sture*, l. 49, just above.

Haddick, 123 [ad’ik], haddock. See note 16, p. 37.

Haggage, 27, an awkward slovenly Hag, or Slattern. [ag’eej] (very common), baggage.

Haggaging, 64, 502 [ag’eejeen], slovenly, awkward, beggarly, or dressed like a hag (still in use, but rare).

Haggle-tooth’d, 58, Snaggle-tooth’d. [ag’l-tèò’dhud] (common). Having teeth growing across or projecting.

Halzening, 298, predicting the Worst that can happen. [aal’zneen] (common). Predicting or divining with the *halse* or *hazel* rod, hence predicting evil to an enemy, and hence, as now used, speaking or wishing evil generally.

Handbeating, 197 [an-bee’ñteen], digging up the turf to burn it in the process of burn-beating. There is a process of cutting the turf by a sort of large flat knife pushed forward by the chest—this is called *spading the beat*; but in stony ground, or where there are many roots, the turf must be dug with a mattock—this latter is *handbeating*. See Beat.

Hange or Hanje, 30, 158, The Purtenance of any Creature, join’d by the Gullett to the Head, and hanging all together, viz. the Lights, Heart, and Liver. [anj, hanj] (the only term in use). The word does

not include the *head* of the animal, as here stated: when sold together, the whole is called *ai'd-n anj*, 'head and hange.'

Hanteck, 620, Antic or frantic. [an'tik, *emph.* han'tik] (very common as a noun, but rare as an adjective), cracked, mad.

Hap, 267, 315 [aap], chance; *gurt-hap* = unusual chance (in daily use). *Happen*, in any sense, is never heard.

‘*þe couherdes hound þat time · as happe by-tidde,
feld foute of þe child · and fast pider fulwes.*’

William of Palerne, l. 32, ed. Roxburgh Club.

See also *Prompt. Parv.* p. 226.

‘*Is wiþ tresor so full begon,
That if 3e happe þerþon,
3e schull be riche men for eure.*’

Gower, ‘*Tale of the Coffers*,’ l. 62.

Hare,—Her; by the Exmoorians also used for She.—By the Cornish (on the contrary) and also by some few Devonians, She is often used instead of Her, viz. in the Accusative as well as Nominative Case. [uur, *emph.* huur]. The *hare* of the text is too drawn out, even if very emphatic. It is in the Exmoor district a broad sound, almost *har*. See W. S. Gram., p. 35.

Harest, 32 [aarus], harvest. Always so pronounced.

To Hawchee, 188, 192, to feed foully. [auchēs] (still used, rare), to make a loud noise in feeding.

Hawchemouth'd, 187, One that talks indecently, or rather makes no distinction between decent and indecent Language, but mouthes out what comes uppermost; and whose Discourse therefore is a mere Hotch-potch. [au'ch-maew'dhud, au'chē-maew'dhud] (common), loud, obtrusive, gross in talk. *Hauchmouth* is a common epithet.

Hay-pook, 88, 284 [aa'y-pèok], hay-cock—the usual word. *Pèok u aay* is equally common, but *cock* is unknown. See *Pook*.

Heart-Gun, 23, 556 (Cardialgia—Tabum quoddam Cordis :) Some great Sickness in the Stomach, or Pain about the Heart, rather worse than the common Heart-burn. [aa'rt guun] (still in use). *Gun* as a suffix, probably A.S. *gund*, seems to mean ailment of an inflammatory kind. See *Barn-gun*.

To Henn, 248, 255, to take and throw. [Vide Spenser's *Calend.* Ægl. 3. 'The Pumie Stones I hastily hent and threw.'] But this Word is seldom used in Devon, tho' frequently in Cornwall. [ai'n], the most commonly-used word for *to fling* or *throw*, as *to henn a stone*. It does not mean *to take and throw*. It is in daily use in N. Dev. and W. Som., where *to throw* [droa'] means either to cast down in wrestling or *to fell*. Trees are always *u-drow'd*. See note 5, p. 52. This word in no case means to *seize* or *take hold*.

Hewstring, 48, 267, Houstring, coughing, wheezing. [èò·streen] (very common).

Hey go! 15, 247, 283 [aa'y go], Heigho! The *g* is always sounded in this interj.

Hire, 31, 139, 444, 566, 617—used for *Hear*. (Still used by a few old men, obsolescent.)

Hoazed, 261, *Hoarse*.—see *Hozed* below. [oa·ũzd] (very common).

Hoazed [u-oa·ũzd, emphatic u-hoa·ũzd], become hoarse; used as a verb only in the past participle (still very common). *Hoarse* [oa·ũz] is a noun in the dialect. *Uur-dh u-gunt u tuur·ubl oa·ũz*, 'She has a terrible hoarse.' Prof. Skeat says, 'Why not "cough?" Surely it is here = M.E. *host*, a cough; not the adj. *hoos*, hoarse. The *r* in Mod. E. *hoarse* is an absurd intrusion, never sounded, and wrong.' Mr. Chorley says, 'I once heard a clergyman say that on going on a Saturday night to do duty for a brother clergyman, he found the sexton walking up and down the river (the Barle) to get a *hoaze*, he said, as he was to sing bass in church next day.'

To Hobby, 296, 299, to play the Hobby-horse, to be at Roms with the Men. [aub·ee] (very common), to jump on a man's back, to act the romping, wanton hoyden.

Hobby-horse, 46 [aub·ee au's], a sham horse moved by a person inside, a stage horse. In olden times, and even in living memory, the hobby-horse formed part of the sports of the village revel. Applied to a woman the epithet is coarse and offensive. See Ben Jonson, 'Entertainment to the Queen,' vol. v. p. 211, ed. Walley; also

*'Shall th' hobby-horse be forgot then,
The hopeful hobby-horse shall he lie founder'd?'
Beaumont and Fletcher, 'Woman Please'd,' Act i.*

In the same act we are told how the horse was carried:

*'Take up your horse again, and girth him to you,
And girth him handsomely.'*

Holing, 297, Calumniating; ab. A. S. *Hol*, Calumnia. [oa·leen], picking holes. Prof. Skeat suggests that probably the phrase 'picking holes' arose from a misunderstanding of A.S. *hol*, detraction.

Horry, 47, 155, 205, foul and filthy. (Obsolete.)

*'Of vche best þat bereȝ lyf · busk þe a cupple,
Of vche clene comly kynde · enclose seven makeȝ,
Of vche horwed, in ark · halde bot a payre.'*
Alliterative Poems (A.D. 1360), E. E. T. S., ed. Morris, l. 333.

'þat þis synfull world þat so horry ys.'
'Chronicon Vilodunense,' ed. Hoare, st. 467.

In the above quotation the meaning is 'adulterous,' 'lecherous'—hence it may have readily come to mean *filthy* as applied to clothes.

To Holster, 219, to hustle and bustle, to make a confounded Noise. (Obsolete.)

Hoppee, 95, 206 [aup·ee], to hop, to jump. A good example of the inflection *ēe* to the intransitive infinitive, which often lends a frequentative force, as in the text. See W. S. Gram., pp. 45, 49.

Hot, 149, 207, 213, 254, 259 [haut], what. This is the true pronunciation, although generally the literary *what* appears in the text.

To be Hove up, 52, means the same as *Hozed*. [oa'v], lifted up, exalted; past tense of *heave*.

Hozed or Hawzed, 290, finely off!—Ironically spoken.—Perhaps finely housed, or in a fine Hovel; for the Word *Hobble* (probably from *Hovel*) is used by the Devonians ironically in much the same Sense; as, such a-one is in a fine *Hobble*! meaning in some great Difficulty. [oa'zd]. I doubt the explanation here given. This word is evidently a cant phrase for *died*, i. e. have become so short of breath as to stop breathing. I have heard the word so used.

A Huckmuck, 118, a short thick-shouldered Person; or rather meant for a Person with short Legs, one whose Hocks are immers'd in, or bespattered by the Muck or Dirt;—or perhaps an unshapely Creature like a Brewer's *Huckmuck*, i. e. a sort of Wicker Strainer us'd to prevent the Grains and Muck from running out with the Wort. [uuk-muuk], very common as an epithet for a paltry, mean, shuffling person. As a common implement in brewing, it consists of a mere bundle of twigs placed at the bottom of the mashing 'kieve' for the purpose given above. Hence as an epithet it is closely allied to *bundle* or *faggot*. Cf. *heck*, E. D. S. Gloss. B. 14, p. 86.

The Hucksheens, 154, the Legs up to the Hams, or Hocks. [uuk-sheenz] (common), hock-shins, under side of thighs. See *Gamerels*.

Hum, 152, 200, 212 [uum, aum], home. Spelt *whome*, l. 113. See note 6, p. 36.

To have a Hy to every-body, 232—to call after,—to have some-what to say to:—Heus! Heigh Sir! You Sir! [haay!] (very common), applied to gossips and forward women, 'ready to talk to any man that comes along.'

I

Jawing, 307 [jau'een], mouthing, growling.

The Jibb, 249, a Stiller to fix a Barrel of Liquor upon. [júb], the only name in use for a cask-stand.

Ill hearty, 103 [ee'ül aart'ée], unhealthy, ailing, delicate (very common).

The Ilt, 409, the spayed female Pigs. (Obsolete, both word and custom.) This word was formerly *gilt* or *yilt*. The *Prompt. Parv.*, p. 194, has *Gylte*. idem quod *Galte* (nefrendus); and adds in a note: 'Bishop Kennett in his glossarial coll. gives "galts and gilts, boar-pigs and sow-pigs, from old Dan. *gallte*, porcus." . . . Any female swine is called a gilt in Staffordshire.'

Jowering, 21, 309, Geowring. See *Geowering*.

Ise, 17. See *Es*. I believe this form of *ego* does not and never did exist. *I'ze* means I has = I have, but it is not Western. I have been told by educated people that *ise* is still used for 'I will,' or rather 'I shall,' = I s', but I can find no sign of it, and I think it is the literary dialect of Shakspeare and Ben Jonson, which has been

taken to be infallible—and hence if the form is not used, it ought to be. Professor Skeat agrees with me that it is no more than ‘conventional play-writers’ slang,’ and says that it occurs also in a song in ‘Two Noble Kinsmen.’

Jump, 107 [juump], a loose jacket or slop, a man’s garment, and hence the piquancy of the abuse; called now a *junper*.

K

The Kee, 110, 202, 409, the Kine, or Cows. [kae’ee]. This is a common pronunciation. In the singular it is *a cow* [kae’ee]—*cows* are [kae’eez].

Any Keendest Thing, 210, 293, any Kind of Thing,—all Sorts of Things, ever so much. [kee’ndees] (very common).

Keeve or Kieve, 249, a Mashing Tub. [kee’v]. This word generally means the *mash*, *i. e.* the malt in process of infusion. The malt as soon as wetted is left to stand a certain time before the *mashing* or *stirring* takes place, and this operation is called *setting the kieve*. The word *kieve* used alone in reference to a vessel would be understood to mean a *cider-vat*, but the same utensil is constantly used for brewing, and then it becomes the *mashing-kieve* [maers’heen kee’v].

A Kep, 94, 206, 300, 516, a Cap. [kep, kp]. This is still the usual pronunciation in N. D. and Exmoor district. Spelt *kepp*, l. 94.

Kerping, 308, 638, Carping. [kyuur’peen] (very common), discontented, grumbling.

Kesson, 232, 297, 512, 534, Christian. (Obsolescent; now *kúr’steen*.) See note 18, p. 57.

A Kickhammer, 279, a Stammerer. [kik-aam’ur] (very common), no longer a stammerer, but an insignificant, bumptious little upstart.

Kiver’d, 156 [kúv’urd], covered.

L

A Labb, 3, 459, 623, a Blab. [lab] (common).

‘Labbe, or he that can not *kepyn non counsel*.’

Prompt. Parv., p. 282.

‘*Quod tho this sely man, I am no labbe,
Ne, though I say it, In’am not lefe to gabbe.*’

Chaucer, ‘Miller’s Tale,’ l. 3506.

To Labbe, 306. I am quite uncertain as to this word. I assume it to be pronounced *lab’ee*, and if so it might mean *let be* (obsolete).

‘*Hee’l purchase induction by simony,
And offers her money her incumbent to bee,
But still she replied, good sir, la-bee,
If ever I have a man, square cap for me.*’

Cleaveland’s Poems, A.D. 1561 (Nares).

To Lace, &c., 80, 81, 346.—See below in the Note subjoined to this Page. [lae'ūs] (very common). Implies the use of some **pliant instrument**; the word would not be used to express a **drubbing** with the hands or fists. The words referred to below are **not** all synonymous, and are therefore inserted separately, if in the text. Some imply a particular kind of beating, others the use of some weapon or instrument, others that no other weapon than hands or fists is used.

To Lackee, 199, to loyter, or be long lacking or wanting from Home. [laak'ēe] (very common). The word *want* is scarcely ever heard in the sense in which it is used in lit. Eng.—*I want* is always *I lack* or *do lackee*. *Doa'rin laak bāt tai'n mún'eets tu dree u klauk*, 'It wants but ten minutes to three o'clock;' lit. (*It*) *don't lack but*.

To Lamb, 346 [laam], to beat, with or without instrument. See *Lace*.

Lamps'd, 127, Lamed, or disabled by a Wound or otherwise: vel ab A. S. *Lama claudus, debilis, enervatus*; vel a Lat Barb. *Lanceatus*. Vide G. J. Vossium de vitiis Sermonia, Lib. 4. Cap. 12. (Very rare.) This word is spelt *lams'd* in the text, but there can be little doubt of its being the old *lampass*, a disease common to horses, here verbalised, like *rheumatised*, *spavined*, &c.

'Biondello. *His horse . . . besides, possessed with the glanders, and like to mose in the chine, troubled with the lampass, infected with the fashions.*'—Shakspeare, 'Taming the Shrew,' Act iii. sc. 1.

Lant, 407 [lan], land, *i. e.* freehold property as distinguished from any other tenure. It is still very usual in speaking of a farm or any piece of ground, 'he'v a bought in the lives and made land of it,' *i. e.* he has paid for the enfranchisement. A very common saying of a man who has an unattractive daughter is 'her's land to un,' meaning that there is no more chance of her being removed from her home than a piece of freehold, or that in her he has an abiding tenure.

Laping or Leeaping, Leaping. (Not dialect.)

Lathing, 189, Invitation. [laa'theen]. Kennett says this is a Staffordshire word, and Halliwell says it is still in use. I believe it is to be heard in N. Dev., though rarely.

Lecker, 287 [laek'ur], drink. Quite another thing from *Leckers*.

Leckers, 183 [laek'urz], mixtures, or compounds of fluids for medicinal purposes. To express ordinary drink the word is singular—*laek'ur*, liquor. I have heard a sick person ask for *mi laek'urz*, meaning *my physic*.

'*Hizt mozt be do ine kende water,
And non oper licour.*'

William of Shoreham, 'De Baptismo,' l. 13.

'*Ne mede, ne forpe, no oper licour
bat changeþ wateres kende.*'—Ibid, l. 22.

Note,—To *Lace*, to *Lam*, to *Lick*, to *Linse*, to *Liquor*; as likewise to *baste*, to *cotton*, to *curry*, to *drub*, to *drum*, to *fag*, to *tan*, to *thong*, to *thresh*, to *toze*, to *trim*, cum multis aliis,—are metaphorically used to signify,—To give a sound Beating, and want little or no Explication: It was therefore thought needless to insert them under their several Initials, but only to hint thus much concerning them.

‘*Ac ȝyf þer wer y-mengd licour
Oþer wid kende watere
Ich woȝt wel þrinne to cristnye
Hit nere nefur þe betere.*’—Ibid, l. 42.

‘*And bathed every vein in such licour
Of which virtue engendred is the flower.*’

Chaucer, ‘Prologue,’ l. 3.

Lee, 150, 201, 510 [*lee*, oftener *lai*], to lie. See note 1, l. 151.

The Leer, 355, the Leer-Ribs,—‘He gave him a Fulch under the Leer,’ i. e. in the Hollow under the Ribs. See **Fulch**. [*lee’ür*], the most usual name for the flank between the ribs and the ‘pin’ or hip. In speaking of animals that part is always called the *leer* (very common).

Lick, 71, 513, 561 [*lik*], a blow with the hand; no implement understood.

Lick, 226 [*lig*], like.

Lipped, 18, to be let pass; to be loose and free; and sometimes the breaking out of the Stiches in Needle-work, or the like. [I think this should be ‘*lat dhu lüp ut*,’ i. e. *slip it = get off*] (obsolete as used in the text, but common as in the last definition).

List [*lúst*]. See **Meat-list**.

Lit, 561, 576, 589 [*leet*], little (still used, but rare). See note 6, p. 103.

Live, 235 [*luy’v*], life.

Lock! 1, 137, 520, 618, What! Heyday! Alack! Lo! ab A. S. Locan (*sic*), to look. [*lau’k*!] (very common). This is a quasi oath—a variety of *Lor*!

Loblolly, 189 (so call’d, perhaps, quasi Lubber-lolly, as being the Broth of the Country Lubbers; or rather Laplolly, because it may be lapp’d up and eaten without a Spoon) an odd Mixture of the worst Kind of Spoon-meat: The Word is also sometimes used for thick Beer. [*laub-laul’ée*] (common). This word is applied to any of the milk compounds or puddings, such as *junket*, blanc mange, syllabub, &c.

Lollypot, 273, a common epithet, meaning booby, softy.

Lonching, 64, quasi Launching, or making long Strides. [*lau’ncheen*] (rare, still heard).

‘*Who lukes to the lefte syde, whenne his horse launches,
With the lyghte of the sonne men myghte see his lyvere.*’

‘Morte Arthure,’ l. 2560.

‘*That long-legged fellow comes launching along.*’

Forby, Gloss. E. Anglia.

Long-hanged, 30, 121, 158, 238 [*laung-an’jud*]. See **Hange**. This epithet means *long-bodied*; it is still very common.

Lounging or **Lundging**, 160, leaning on any Thing, such as a Gate or Stile, like a lazy Creature that hath nothing else to do. [*luun’jeen*] (very common). Spelt *lunging* in the text.

Loustree, 216 (obsolete). See *Lustree*.

To Lustree or Lewstery, 291, to bustle and stir about like a lusty Wench. [*lèo'strée*] (common).

Ly, 513 [*laa'y*], to strike, to beat; a weapon is rather implied in the use of this word.

M

To Make-Wise, 12, 292, 593, to pretend,—to make as tho' Things are so and so, when they are not. [*mak wuyz*], to feign, to pretend, to make believe, to counterfeit (still very common). Used also for *pretending*, as *Ee paast ulaw'ng mak wayz u ded-u zee mu*, 'He passed along pretending he did not see me.'

'Besides to make their admonitions and reproofs seeme graver and of more efficacie, they made wise as if the gods of the woods . . . should appear and recite those verses of rebuke.'—Puttenham, l. i. ch. 13, p. 24 (Nares).

Mail, 568 [*maay'd*], girl; the only word ever heard in common talk. *Girl* [*guur'ld*], if used, is *fine*, for gentlefolks' ears.

The Malls, the Meazels. (Obsolete.)

Marchantable, 329 [*maarchuntubl*], perfect, fit for sale; thence applied, by the bucolic mind, to state of health. *Nort marchantable* means 'nothing to boast of' (still very common).

Marl, 130, 207, 214, 269, 628, a Marvel or Wonder. [*maar'ul*] (common). See notes, ll. 130, 606.

Marrabones, 268 [*maar'uboa'unz*], knees (very common).

Meach off, 469 [*mee'ch oa'f*], to slink off, to play the truant. *Meacher* [*mee'chur*], a truant (very common). See note 9, p. 92.

'Some meaching rascal in her house.'

Beaumont and Fletcher, 'Scornful Lady,' Act v. sc. 1.

'Ophelia. What means this, my lord?

Hamlet. Marry this is miching malecho; it means mischief.'

Shakspeare, 'Hamlet,' Act iii. sc. 2.

'Falstaff. Shall the blessed sun of heaven prove a micher and eat blackberries.'—Ibid, '1 Henry IV.,' Act ii. sc. 4.

The Prompt. Parv. has 'Mychyn, or pryuely stelyn smale thyngys.'

Mearty, 547, mighty (common).

Meat-list, come to my, 560, i. e. Stomach, Appetite. [*mai't*, always] (common phrase).

Meazels, 30, 49, 104, 186, Sows or Swine. [Obsolete. Spelt *meazle*, 30. I doubt if it meant *swine*, as here stated. In 'The Stacions of Rome,' Vernon MS., ab. A.D. 1370, ed. Furnivall, E. E. T. S., l. 247, of the Emperor Constantine we read—

'A . Mesel forsoþe, we fynde he was.

Til crist sende him . of his gras.;

Pope Siluestre

- l. 255. *þat þe water wesch · a-wey his sinne*
And al þe fulpe · þat he was Inne.'

Here the word clearly means *leper*. See also 'Piers the Plowman,' ab. A.D. 1370, ed. Skeat, Pass. X. 179. Chaucer uses both *mesel*, a leper, and *meselrie*, leprosy—'The Persones Tale' (De Ira). From the connection in the text with *long-hanjed* the glossarist probably concluded the word to mean sow, but he might just as well have put cow. Prof. Skeat reminds me that the dictionaries confound *meazel*, *leprosy*, and *measles* (see Webster), which are totally distinct.

Men, 270. See *Min*.

Mencing, 22, 568, 638 [mún'seen], mincing, affected (very common). Spelt also *mincing*, l. 22 in the text. See Isaiah iii. 16, '*walking and mincing as they go.*'

Merst (obsolete) = mightest. l. 10, the *be* is here, as it still is very commonly, omitted. See W. S. Gram., p. 57.

Mickled with the Cold, 277 (a Lat. *micare*, tremere,) (?) shrunk'd up and benumb'd, the same with Steev'd, which means also stiffen'd and benumb'd. (Obsolete.) The glossarist has here given a good example, quite unconsciously, in the word *shrunk'd*, of the addition of the redundant weak inflection to the past participle of a strong verb. See W. S. Gram., p. 48.

Middle-banes, 632, 636 [múd'l bæ'ūnz], middle-bands, the waist (rare, but not obsolete).

Min or *Mun*, 224, 268, for Them; as l. 266, 'When tha dost zey mun,' i. e. when thou dost say them.—and l. 419, 'A Puss to put min in,' i. e. a Purse to put them in.—*Mun* is also used vocatively for Man, and sometimes even in speaking to a Woman, l. 335, but then it seems rather to mean *mannus*, for the which the Saxon Word was also man; thus l. 397, 'chave an over Arrant to tha, mun.'—i. e. I have an important Errand to thee, my little Hobby.—See the Word Over, explained in p. 143. [mún] (common in both senses here given). See W. S. Gram., p. 37.

Moil or *Moyle*, 64, 502, a Mule. (Obsolete.)

'Pyrgus. Sir, Agrippa desires you to forbear him till the next week; his moils are not yet come up.'—Ben Jonson, 'Poetaster,' Act i. sc. 1.

See also Beaumont and Fletcher, 'Scornful Lady,' Act ii. sc. 1.

To Moily, to labour like a Mule, to be an incessant Drudge.—'I have toiled and moiled all Day,' i. e. I have had a very hard and toilsome Day's Work. [mauy'lee] (common). Prof. Skeat doubts if there is any connection between a *mule* and to moil. Nares says, 'Probably from *moile*, a mule, being an animal very useful for labour.'

More an' zo, 63, 140, 195, 499 [moo'ūr-n zoa], moreover (very common).

Mullad or *Mulled*, 167, 377, closely rubb'd and tightly squeezed. [muw'lud], pulled about, mauled, tumbled about.

Muggard, 194, 313, and *Muggaty*, sullen and displeas'd, at a real or suppos'd Affront. [muug'urd] (obsolescent). Way, in the Prompt.

Parv., refers to this word as in the Exmoor dialect, and seems to connect it with *muglurd*, a *nyggarde*. It is easy to conceive of a *niggard* as sullen and morose.

Mully, 381 [muw'lēe], to pull about, to handle overmuch (common).

A Mulligrub Gurgin, 185, 237, a Meal Grub that feeds only upon Gurgins or Gurgians, the coarsest Kind of Meal, and the common Food for Hounds. [muul'igruub guur'geen] (epithet still used).

A Mum-Chance, a Fool dropt as it were by Chance, or by the Fairies; or One who is for the most Part stupid and silent, and never speaks, at least not to the Purpose, but by mere Chance. [muum'-chaans] (common).

'*What would you have a body stand like mum-chance, as if I did't know?*'—'Unnatural Mother,' 1698 (Nares).

Earlier in the seventeenth century the word meant a kind of game played with dice or cards, in which silence was an essential part; hence it came to mean a person stupidly dumb.

Mun, vide supra Min.

A brocking Mungrel.—See Brocking.

Murt, 468, 473, might (obsolete).

Mux, 204, Muck or Dirt. [muuks] (very common), mud, the ordinary soft *ordure* covering of a farm-yard. See Pilm.

Muxy, 7, 153, 500, Dirty, Filthy. [muuk'sēe] (very common), muddy, deep in mire; also, as in the text, plastered with the contents of a farm-yard.

N

The Natted Yeo, 210 (for Notted, or Not-headed, because without Antlers,) the Ewe without Horns. [naut'ud yoa]. This term is applied to both sheep and cattle. A sheep without *horns* is a '*nott*;' a cow without horns (a distinct breed) is a '*nott bullock*.' In the district of Exmoor the sheep are still, as they were then, nearly all *horned*, and an ewe without horns would be an exception, hence we find *Wilmot* in the text speaking of the *natted yeo* as one in particular, and therefore to be specially described as *natted*.

'*Sweet Sirope I have a lamb,
Newly weaned from the dam,
Of the right kind, it is notted.*'

Drayton, 'Muses Elysium,' Nymph 2.

The word in Chaucer's 'Prologue' (l. 109), which in modern popular editions is 'translated' *nut-head*, and so is senseless, should be *nott-head*, i. e. close cropped.

Nether, 149 [naedh'ur], another.

The Niddick, 24, 555, the Nape or hinder Part of the Neck. [núd'ik] (common).

Nif, 12, 162, 195, 196, 198, 208, 221 [neef], if. This is still the

common, indeed the nearly invariable, form; *i. e. an if*, so common in old writers.

A Ninniwatch, 36 (q. d. the Watch of a Ninny or Fool,) a foolish Expectation,—vain Hopes or Fears. [nún'ewauch] a state of great excitement (very common).

Nort, 621 [noa'ürt], nought, nothing. Still the invariable pronunciation—the *r* very distinct.

Now-reert, 31, 140, 210, 255, 488 (*i. e. now-right*,) just now. [naew ree'urt] (obsolescent).

O

Odds, 294 [audz], difference. See note, l. 294.

Ort, 10, 119, 160, 197, 253, 575, 635, sometimes us'd for Ought, or Aught, any Thing; at other Times for Oft, often, as in l. 253. [oa'ürt], always thus pronounced when meaning *ought* or *anything*, but it is not now used for *often*. This is quite a different word from *orts*, leavings.

Ount, 25 (pronunciation obsolete). The use of this word does not at all imply relationship. It is the 'aunt' of Shakspeare, and is equivalent to the Cockney *Mother*—'Mother Shipton,' 'Mother Redcap,' &c.; and simply denotes an old person.

Over, is frequently us'd to express over great, material, or important; as 'he hath an over Mind to such a Thing,' that is, a great Inclination to it:—An over Errand, an important Message.—See *Min* or *Mun*, as explain'd in P. 141. [oa'vur] (obsolescent in this sense).

Avore, 14 [u'voar]. This is the same word as is elsewhere spelt *avore*, but the meaning in l. 14 is slightly different—here it means *to the front*. The passage means 'whether he would come forward or no.'

'Pan. *My ancestor To-pan, beat the first kettle drum*
Avore hun, here vrom Dover on the march.'

Ben Jonson, 'Tale of a Tub,' Act i. sc. 2.

To take Owl o', 162, 310 (*i. e. to take unwell of it*) to take it ill, or amiss. (Obsolete.) Perhaps the phrase survives in the very common saying, '*I do live too near a 'ood, vor to be a frightened by a Owl.*'

P

Pad, 113 [pad], a bundle of yarn consisting of twenty-four small slipes or hanks, each consisting of four skeins, each skein measuring 360 yards; consequently a pad of yarn always contained the same number of *yards*, whatever its size or weight. Before the days of machinery, but far into the nineteenth century, the country manufacturers gave out wool to the peasants to be spun at home, and the size of the thread required was noted by ordering the *pad* to be spun to a certain weight, or in other words— $24 \times 4 \times 360 = 34,560$ yards, to be got out of so many lbs. of wool. In some factories even now this mode is still retained, and instead of spinning 20s. or 30s. they spin at

so many lbs. per pad. This word is not to be confounded with *ped*, a basket, used by Tusser, Ray, and others, as also in the Norwich *Ped-market*.

To Paddle, 5, 374, 511, signifies not only to dabble in the Water, &c. but also to make too free with Liquor, or to drink freely. [See the old Song of the swapping Mallard,

‘And as the Mallard in his Pools,
So we will paddle in our Bowls.’]

(Obsolete in this sense.) The act described in l. 374 *et seq.* seems to have been quite in keeping with the manners of the period, as shown by the following:

‘It is not becoming a person of quality, when in company with ladies, to handle them roughly, to put his hand into their necks or bosoms, to kiss them by surprise, &c.; you must be very familiar to use them at that rate, and unless you be so, nothing can be more indecent, or render you more odious.’—‘Rules of Civility,’ A.D. 1678, p. 44 (Nares).

To Palch along, 201—To Stalk, or Walk on softly,—To Palch, also signifies to patch or mend Clothes, that is to put a Palch or Palliage on them; from the Word Palliate, which signifies either to disguise or to patch up a Matter. (Obsolete.)

A Pan-crock, 156, 215, a little Earthen Pan. [pang-krauk] (very common). This word is also still used occasionally for a *skirt* or *petticoat*. This must be its meaning in l. 156, as an earthen pan covered with *briss* and *buttons* would be scarcely probable. The word must be *pank-rock*. I cannot account for the *k* sound, but submit that *pan-rock* would be quite intelligible. The Prompt. Parv. has ‘*Pane of a furrure.*’ ‘*Panne*, a skinne, fell, or hide.’—Cotgrave. Again *pame* is the ordinary name of the flannel wrapper with which babies are covered, not especially, as Halliwell says, when they are ‘going to be christened.’ Nares gives *pane*, an opening or division in parts of a dress. ‘*A pane of cloth, panniculus.*’—Coles.

‘He ware jerkins and round hose,
With laced panes of russet cloath.’

Fynes ‘Moryson,’ Part ii. p. 46.

‘Fastidious. *Strikes off a skirt of a thick-laced satin doublet I had, lined with four taffatas, cuts off two panes embroidered with pearl.*’—Ben Jonson, ‘Every Man out of his Humour,’ Act iv. sc. 5.

Beaumont and Fletcher, Minsheu, Massinger, Warton, all speak of ‘*paned hose*,’ which seems to have meant *striped*; hence a *pan-k-rock* may have been a *striped petticoat*. Germ. *rock*.

Prof. Skeat says, ‘Perhaps *pank-rock* = *pant-rock* = *pan’d-rock*.’

To Pank, 48, to pant. [pangk] (always thus). A man who saw a locomotive for the first time exclaimed, ‘Lor ! how a panketh !’

Parbeaking, 148, Belching;—perhaps a Corruption of Parbreacking, vomiting,—*stomachosus*, facile in Iram prorumpens. [paarbai’keen] (very rare).

‘Her filthy parbreake all the place defiled has.’

Spenser, ‘Faerie Queene,’ B. i. c. i. st. 20.

Pawel, 217 [pau'd], dug or beat with the fore-feet.

Peels, 428, for Pillows. [pee-ŭlz] (generally so pronounced still). See note 9, p. 88. '*Peel* is the older word.'—Skeat.

Pennet, 172, a little Pen, a Sheep or Cow-Pen. (Obsolete), a cow-pen is always now a *pine* [puyn].

Petha, 261. See *Pitha*.

Pick prates, 221, to tell tales (still used).

Pilm, 83, 84, Flying Dust : hence in P. 16, 'I'll make thy Boddice pilnee,' means, I'll thresh thee so as to make the Dust fly out of thy Boddice. [pŭl-um] (very common). See *Briss*. I have seen in some local Society's Transactions, I think, but cannot find it, a story of a witness who was asked by a Judge what he meant by *pillum*. 'Pillum, my lord, why that's mux a drow'd.' Judge, in despair : 'But what is that?' 'What mux a drow'd, my lord? Oh! that's pillum a wet.'

Pinchvart, 111, or **Pinchfart**, a miserly Niggard, who pinches and saves that which is not worth Half a Fart-hing. [pŭnchfaart] (very common). Cf. Prompt. Parv. '*Pynchar*, nyggarde.'

To Pink, 256, to push.—In the Præter Tense pung, as 'he pung me,' i. e. he push'd me. [paeng], ping is the word now used (rare). The idea is rather to *prod* or to push with some instrument, as pitchfork or broom, and the glossarist seems to consider it the same as to *pink*, which means to *pierce* or stab, as 'To *pink* a man,' i. e. to run him through. Shakspeare speaks of '*her pink'd porringer*' ('Henry VIII.' Act v. sc. 3), and of '*pumps . . . all unpink'd i' the heel*' ('Tam. Shrew,' Act iv. sc. 1), which evidently means *pierced* with holes. The *pung'd* of the text is another good example of the super-addition of the weak inflection to the strong verb. See Mickled, also W. S. Gram., p. 48.

To take Pip, 162, 310, 468, and **meach off**,—See P. 92—to take amiss, or be out of humour, and so steal away. (Obsolete.)

Piping, in l. 148, means wheezing.—'A parbeaking and piping Body'—a Person subject to belching and wheezing. [puy'peen] (very common). Of a person with a short *hecking* cough it is often said, 'Her'y a got the pip.' The well-known gaping disease of chickens is always called the *pip*. '*Pyppe*, sekenesse.'—Prompt. Parv. '*Pyppe*, a sicknesse, *pepye*.'—Palsgrave. '*Chervel*, y-dronkyn with muls, oftyn for-dop þe pippe.'—Arundel MS. 42, fo. 66.

Pistering, 297, a Word which whenever used, is always joined with Whistering, i. e. Whispering, (as in P. 56) perhaps from the French *pester*, to rail at, or tell Tales; and so Whistering and Pistering must be understood to mean telling Stories to the Disadvantage of others in Whispers, or with an Air of Secrecy. [pŭs'tureen] (common), a mere pleonasm, still used only in connection with *whistering*, adding nothing to the sense, but only a further onomatopœia, to represent the sound of whispering.

Pitha, 57, 132, 137 [pidh-ru, pŭdhr-u; now pronounced pŭdh-ŕe], prythee; very commonly used, but no *r* is ever heard in the word. See W. S. Dial., p. 20.

Pixy, 130, pignye, a Fairy.—(ab Islandic. Puke, Dæmon.)—Tee-heeing Pixy, P. 38. Laughing Fairy or Goblin. [pik'sée]. The well-known 'little folks' or fairies are still firmly believed in. They are known in the West only as *Pixies*. A very common expression is 'Plaze God and the Pigs,' the latter word being no doubt a corruption of *Pixies*. Hence we have *pixy-stools*, fungi; *pixy-rings*, in the pastures; *pixy-wording*, or *hoarding*, in the orchards; *pixy-rided*, to guard against which a horseshoe is nailed against the stable-door.

'Thee pixie-led in Popish piety.'

Clobery, 'Divine Glimpses' (1659), p. 73.

Plat-vooted, 56, broad and flat-footed. [plaat-vèot'ud] (very common). The word is now used to imply *splay-footed*, also *shambling* in gait.

To Plim, 67, 513, to swell up, as new Bacon, &c. in dressing.—'Chell plim tha,' l. 67—i. e. I shall or will beat thee, so as to make thee swell like a young Fowl put to the Fire:—So to make the Cheeks plim, is to beat them so as to make swell and look plump. [plùm]. This word is still constantly used to express the thickening or swelling process caused by boiling rice, flour, or pease; hence any person or animal becoming fatter is said to *plim*. Compare *plump*.

Podger, 248, a Platter, whether made of Pewter or Earthen Ware; but the former is generally term'd a Podger-dish, and the latter a cloamen Podger, or frequently a Podger without any Distinction. [pauj'ur] (obsolescent).

Pointee, 629 [pwauny'tée], to appoint, to make known (common).

To Pomstery, 26, to use Slops or Salves, and play the Empiric and Quack. [paum'sturée] (obsolescent). Compare *pomander*.

To Poochee, 188, 192, 311, to make Mowes or Mouthes, or screw up the Mouth like a Pouch. [pèò'chée] (very common), to pout, to protrude the lips.

Pook, 88, a Haycock, quasi Peake or Cone;—Cornu-Brit. Pooc, or Punk, a Heap. See Dr. Borlase's Cornish Vocabulary. [pèok], the only name in use for hay-cock, to be heard every day.

Popeling, 616 [poa'pleen], poking, loitering (obsolete). The word now is 'poking,' i. e. very slow in movement, dilatory.

To Popple about, to hobble about. (Not in the text.)

Popping, 138, Blabbing, like a Popinjay or Parrot. (Common.)

'For a suretie this felowe waxeth all folyshe, doth utterly or all togither dote, or is a very popyng foole.'—'Acolastus,' 1540 (Halliwell).

To Potee, 216, to push with the Feet. [poa'utée] (very common). This word means to struggle and kick with the feet while lying down—it would not be applied to the kicking of a standing animal or person. A sheep while being shorn is said to *poa'utée*; a bed-fellow who kicks is said to *poa'utée*.

'Corn. *poot*, to kick like a horse.'—Williams's 'Corn. Dict.'

'Welsh, *putio*, to prick.'—Richard's 'Welsh Dict.'

'*Putio*, to butt, to thrust.'—Williams's 'Corn. Dict.'

This very common word seems to be a veritable Celtic relic.

To Powt, to thrust out the Lips and swell the Cheeks in Token of Anger. [puwt] (very common). (Not in the text.)

To Prink, 22, 109, 567, or **prinkee**, to dress fine, or set one's self off to the best Advantage. [pringk, praengk] (common).

'*To be prinkt up, to be drest up fine or finical like children or vain women.*'—Lansdowne MS. No. 1033 (Halliwell).

Prill'd, 194. See A-prill'd.

To Pritch, 193, 244, to prick Holes in ;—to make Holes for the Wires in the Leathers of Wool-Cards. [púrch] (in daily use). At present the word is chiefly used to express the *punching* of the *nail-holes* in horse-shoes. The instrument used is called a *púr·cheel* or *prúch·eel*, written *pritchel*.

Puckering, 277, in Rolls and Wrinkles, — all zig-zag and awry. [puuk·ureen] (very common). This word is chiefly applied to sewing. If two edges of cloth are sewn together unevenly, so that one is wrinkled while the other is smooth, the work is said to be *puckered*. To *pucker* is to sew as described.

Pulching, 616. See *Palch*. Stalking about very deliberately.

To Pummel a Person, 80—to beat him soundly,—to box him. [puum·ul] (very common). This word implies the use of fists only—no weapon.

Pung, 256. See *Ping* (? *Pink*).

To Purt, 21, 163, 309, **purtee**, or **be apurt**,—to sit silent or sullen. [puurt] (common). See *Apurt*.

Puss, 419 [puus], purse. Still always thus pronounced—precisely the same sound as in *fuss*.

To Putch, 33, 71, to pick up Corn or Hay to the Mow or zess with a Pitch-fork. See *Zess*. [púch]. This word still means not merely to take up hay or corn on or with a pitchfork, but to load it on the wagon in the field, or from the wagon on to the rick or the *zess*. This is accounted the hardest work in the hay or harvest field, and is the post of honour for the ablest man. Hence we infer a kind of compliment to George Furze, l. 32.

To put vore, 467, to put forward, a phrase used in a variety of ways. *To put vore work*, is to set it on, to start it; *to put vore any animal or thing*, is to exhibit it, or to place it in front of something else. In the text the use is quite vernacular.

Q

Qualify, 227 [kwaul·ifuy], to bear witness, to testify.

Quelstring, hot and sultry, or sweltry. (Common.) Not in the text. See *Quelstring*.

Querking, 43, the deep slow breathing of a Person in Pain; a Tendency to groaning. [kwuur'keen] (very common), complaining generally of ill-health, croaking, grunting.

R

Rabble-rote, 222, a Repetition of a long Story;—a Tale of a Tub. (Obsolete.)

Racing, 63, 308, raking up old Stories, or rubbing up old Sores. (Obsolete in this sense.)

Ragrowtering, 131, 141 (from ragery and rout, tumultus) playing at Romps, and thereby rumpling, roughening, and tearing the Clothes to Rags; or playing the Rogue, viz. in a wanton Frolic. [ragruw'tureen] (common), going on the rampage.

Rakee up, 144, 355 [rae'ükčee aup], to rouse oneself as from sleep, to gather oneself together, *fig.* to gird up the loins; to move like young cattle do after a rest, stretching, yawning (very common still). I have very often heard, 'Why! thee didn't rakee up afore just eight o'clock.' See *roily* for remarks upon the past tense inflection, *rakad*.

'Benedicite he by-gan with a bolke and hus brest knockede

Rasclod and remed and routte at þe laste.

"What a-wake, renk," quod repentance "rape þe to shryfte!"

Piers Plowman, C viii. 6, ed. Skeat, E. E. T. S.

Rathe, (not rear, as Gay has it,) early, soon; e. g. 'a leet-rather,' or as in l. 211, 'bet leetle rather,' i. e. but a little while ago,—a little sooner. I would rather, i. e. I would sooner do so and so.—In Somerset, 'Why do you op so rathe,' i. e. get up or rise so early? [rae'üdth] (common). See *Rather*.

'Bring the rathe primrose, that forsaken dies,

To strew the laureat herse where Lycid lies.'

Milton, 'Lycidas.'

Rather, 211, 491 [rae'üdthur], earlier; the comparative of *rathe*, early.

A well-known early apple is called the *Rathe-ripe*. This word is never used in the dialect to express *preference*, but for that *zèo'ndur*, sooner, is the word; occasionally it is *lee'rur*, *liefer*. The use of *rather* in l. 218 is a literaryism—*zoonder* it should be. See note, l. 491.

'The rather lambs be starved with cold,

All for their master is lustless and old.'

Spenser, 'Shepherd's Cal., Feb.,' l. 83.

Rathe-ripe Fruit, early Fruit.

A rathe-ripe Wench, a Girl of early Puberty.

'So it is no lesse ordinary that these rathe-ripe wits prevent their own perfection.'—Hall's 'Quo Vadis,' p. 10 (Nares).

To Ream, 18, to stretch or strain.—Bread is said to ream, when made of heated or melted Corn, and grown a little stale; so that if a Piece of it be broken into two Parts, the one draws out from the other a kind of String like the Thread of a Cobweb, stretching from one Piece

to the other.—Note, Corn is said to be melted when put together before thoroughly dried, and so heated and fermented in the Zess or Mow. [rain], the only word in use for stretch or enlarge. The implement for enlarging holes in iron is called a *reamer* [rai'mur]. Cider is said to be *u-rai'mid* when it becomes adhesive and capable of being stretched, *i. e.* when it runs like oil or treacle, a condition by no means uncommon; called also *ropy*.

*'His full grown stature, high his head, lookes higher rise,
His pearching hornes are ream'd a yard beyond assise.'*

'A Herring's Tayle,' 1598 (Nares).

See *Rakee*.

Rearing, 106, 313, Mocking, by repeating another's Words with Scorn and Disdain. [rae-üreen] (obsolescent in this sense).

Reart, 128, right.—So Light is pronounced Leart; Might, Meart; and the like Pronunciation prevails in almost all Words ending in ight, among the Rusticks in Devon. [This pronunciation is obsolete, it is now rai't.]

Rearting, 428, righting or mending.

Rewden Hat, 91, a Straw Hat;—a Woman's Hat made of Rood or Reed, that is of Combed Straw. [ree'dn] (*rewden* is obsolete).

Rex or rather **Rix**, a Rush; **Rixen**, Rushes.—**The Rex-bush**, 129, 284, a Bush or Tuft of Rushes. [raeks, vraeks, *pl.* vraek'sn]. In the particulars of a sale of land (1879) one of the fields is described as 'Wrexens Plot' (always thus).

A Rigg, an impudent wanton Girl. Minshew. [rig]. This word now generally means a horse imperfectly castrated.

Riggee, 265, 296 [rig'ëe], to act the wanton.

Rigging, 63, 130, 141, 299, acting the Wanton; ready to bestride any inactive Stallion, and give him a quickening Spur. [rig'ëen] (very common).

'Wantonis is a drab!

For the nonce she is an old rig:

But as for me, my fingers are as good as a live twig.'

'Marriage of Witt and Wisdome,' 1579.

'Nay fy on thee, thou rampe, thou ryg, with al that take thy part.'—

'Gammer Gurton' (Nares).

Riggleting, 148, Wriggling, Twisting and turning, or playing the Romps, and riding upon Men's Backs. [rig'leteen] (very common), wanton, riggish.

'Enobarbus.

For vilest things

Become themselves in her; that the holy priests

Bless her when she is riggish.'

Shakspeare, 'Antony and Cleopatra,' Act ii. sc. 2.

A Rigmutton-Rumpstall, 146, may sometimes mean a rammish Ridgel; but is generally used to denote a wanton Wench that is ready to ride upon the Men's Backs: or else passively to be their Rompstall. (Common epithet.) The word *mutton*, when applied to a

woman, whether alone or as part of a compound epithet, seems always to have been opprobrious.

'Speed. *Ay sir; I, a lost mutton, gave your letter to her, a laced mutton; and she, a laced mutton, gave me, a lost mutton, nothing for my labour.*'—Shakspeare, 'Two Gent. of Verona,' Act i. sc. 1.

The same expression is used by Ben Jonson and others. We also find *mutton-monger* used by Bellafront ('Honest Wh.') in several places, by Webster ('Appius and Virg.'), Chapman ('May Day'), and in 'Sir J. Oldcastle.'

Ripping, 311, taking off the Rind and exposing our Nakedness;—or ripping up our Character and laying open all our Faults. [rú'peen] Very commonly used in this sense, but in that case it is always to *rip up*.

'*They ripped up all that had been done from the beginning of the rebellion.*'—Clarendon.

This word, when used alone, commonly means the peeling off the bark from oak for tanning. Ripping-time is the season of spring, when the sap is rising in the oaks, and when the bark will *run*, *i. e.* come off easily.

Rittling a-bed, 267, Wheezing, rattling, routing, and snoring. (Obsolete.)

Rixen. See above.

Rixy, 59, Quarrelsome, scolding. a Lat. Rixa (?). [rik'sée], carping (rather rare).

A Roil, 16, 31, 231, *or Royle*, a big, ungainly Slammakin; a great awkward Blowze or Hoyden. [rauy'ül] (common), a scold, a loud-tongued railer.

To Roily upon One, 1, 6, 7, 225, 340, 344, 511, to rail on him, or traduce his Character. [rauy'lée] (very common), to abuse, to villify. The past tense and p. part. (ll. 340, 344) have the full inflection (roilad) in the text. Compare this with all the transitive verbs in ll. 346, 347, for a striking confirmation of the rule given in W. S. Gram., pp. 45, 76, 80, as to this inflection marking the intransitive and frequentative form of verbs.

Roundshaving, 233, 311, Spoke-shaving, reprimanding severely. [raewn-shee'üveen] (common), abusively scolding.

Roustling, 16, Rustling and Rattling. [ruw'sleen] (sometimes heard).

A Rouzabout, 56, a restless Creature never easy at Home, but roaming from Place to Place. Also, a Sort of large Pease, which from their regular Globosity will hop or roll about more than others. [ruwz-ubæwt], spelt *rouzeabout*, l. 55. I disagree with this definition. The word implies a rough, slap-dash, bustling hoiden—much the same as *roustling*, with the idea of *gad-about* added.

To Rowcast, 195 (*i. e.* to rough-cast), to throw Dirt that will stick. [ruw'kaas] (very common), properly the technical name for a particular kind of rough plastering, in which the mortar is thrown and made to stick against the wall; hence to '*throw mud*' means to abuse with strong epithets.

Rowl or Real, 2, a Revel or Wake; the Anniversary of the Dedication of a Church. [Obsolete; the word is now *raev'ul*.] Nearly every village in the district still has its *revel*, when a kind of rustic fair is held, with wrestling, bell-ringing, and much drunkenness.

Rubbacrock, 56, a filthy Slattern that is as black as if she were continually rubbing herself against a Boiler or Kettle. [*ruub'ukrauk*] (common epithet). See **Crock**.

To Ruckee, 143, 269, to quat or crouch down, whether on a necessary Occasion or otherwise. [*ruuk'ëe*] (very common).

*'But now they rucken in hire neste,
And resten as hem liken beste.'*

Gower, MS. Soc. Antiq. 134, f. 114.

*'Thai sal for thryste the hefed sowke,
Of the neddyr that on thaim sal rowke.'*

Hampole MS., Bowes, p. 198 (Halliwell).

'Have lazie wings, be ever leane, in sullen corners rucke.'

Warner, 'Alb. Eng.' p. 185, ed. 1610.

'The furies made the bride-groomes bed, and on the house did rucke.'

Golding's Ovid, p. 73, ed. 1603 (Nares).

Chaucer also uses *rowke*.

Rumping, 131, 141, 568 [*ruum'peen*], romping. Several words spelt with *o* are still pronounced *u*, as *ruub* = rob, *juub* = job, *ruump* = romp.

A Rumble, 288, a large Debt contracted by little and little. [Somerset, 'Twill come to a Rumble, or breaking, at last: But Rumble in Devon means not the same as Rupture, but a Thing ruffled and drawn up together, as a Garment rumbled up to a Wad, with many Plaits and Wrinkles.] (Obsolete; the word is now *ruum'pus*.) Professor Skeat suggests that this word means *runkle*, i. e. *wrinkle* or *hint*. See note, l. 288.

S

Sar, 409 [*saar*], to serve, to feed. To give their food to pigs or cattle is always to *sar* them. It also means to *earn*, i. e. to *serve for*—'I shant *sar* zixpence to-day, to this work.' This word is never *zar*. See 'Devoniensis,' p. 64.

Sart a baked, 472 [*saart u-bae'ükud*], soft or dough-baked—a very common description of a *softy*.

Sauntering, 282, 283, idling, dilatory.

Savin, 183, 242 [*saav'een*], the well-known shrub *Juniperus Sabina*.

A Scatt or Skatt, a Shower of Rain. [There is a Proverb at Kenton, in Devon, mentioned by Risdon, 'When Hall-down has a Hat, let Kenton beware of a Skatt.' See Brice's Topographical Dictionary, Art. Kenton.] [*skad*] (very common). *Scatt* is not *Exmoor* but *Exeter* dialect; in N. D. and W. S. it is always *scad*. Here is one of the

evidences that these dialogues, as well as the glossary, were written or transcribed by a South Devon. The proverb relating to *Haldon* (a hill near Exeter) still further confirms this.

Scatty Weather, 125, Showery, with little Skuds of Rain. [skad'čē wadh'ur] (common). The *skud* here is literary or else 'Shropshire' (Skeat).

Scoarce or **Scoace**, 330, to exchange. 'Es Scoast a Tack or two,' P. 78, i. e. I exchanged a Blow or two,—I swopp'd with him a Fisty-Cuff or two. [skoars].

'Pan. . . . Would not miss you, for a score on us,
When he do 'scourse of the great charity to us.

Pup. *What's that, a horse? can 'scourse nought but a horse,
And that in Smithweld. Charty! I ne'er read o' hun.'*

Ben Jonson, 'Tale of a Tub,' Act i. sc. 2.

The pun in this passage would not be intelligible except in the literary or conventional dialect of Ben Jonson, because *discourse* is, and I think was, pronounced *skeo's*, while *scoarce*, to swap, is pronounced *skaars* or *skaurs*. The word is still used, though not commonly.

Scollee, 260. See Skull.

Scratch'd or **a-scratch'd**, 124, just frozen; the Surface of the Earth appearing as it were scratch'd or scabby. [u-skraacht] (common). When water shows the slightest film of ice, when the appearance is only of lines or scratches, it is said to be *scratched*. 'Twad-n very sharp z'mornin', I zeed the water was only jist a *scratched*.'

To Screedle, 224, or scrune over the Embers, to hover over them, covering them with one's Coats as with a Screen. [skree'dl] (rare, not obsolete).

Scrubbing, 266, 271 [skruub'een], scraping, scratching, rubbing the skin.

To Scrumpee, 188, 192, to scranch like a Glutton, or as a Dog eating Bones and all. [skruum'pēe] (rare), to craunch.

Sed [u-zaed], refused, prevented, hindered (still common as in the text). See Zed.

Seggard, 108, Safeguard, a kind of outer Garment so call'd. (Obsolete, but not quite forgotten), a skirt for riding, to be put on over all.

'Make you ready straight;
And in that gown, which first you came to town in,
Your safeguard, cloke, and your hood suitable.'

Beaumont and Fletcher, 'Noble Gentleman,' Act ii. sc. 1.

'On with your cloak and saveguard, you arrant drab.'

'Ram Alley' (Nares).

'The men booted, the gentlewomen in cloaks and safeguards.'—Stage direction in 'The Merry Devils' (Nares).

Sheen, 128 [shee'n], shine, a glimmer. Many words in long *i* in lit. Eng. are still pronounced long *ee*.

Shivers, 256 [shúv'urz], pieces, atoms.

Shoard, a Piece of broken Earthen Ware, a Potsherd. [shoa'ürd] (very common).

To take a Shoard, 5, 511, to take a Cup too much. [shoa'ürd] (very common). Spelt *shord* in the text. The Prompt. Parv. has 'Scherde or schoord, of a broke vesselle.' *Potsherd* was *potsheard* in early editions of the Bible. Shakspeare spells it *shard*.

'1st Priest. For charitable prayers,
Shards, flints, and pebbles, should be thrown on her.'

'Hamlet,' Act v. sc. 1.

The word also means *a notch* or *to notch*—'Thee's a *shorded* my knife;' 'There was a gurt *shord* in the hedge, eens could drave a wheelbarrow drue un.' As a piece of broken crockery, *shord* is often used for the entire vessel; cf. in 'taking a *shord*.' A '*shord o' tea*' is a very common phrase for 'a cup of tea.'

A Shool, a Shovel. [shèo'l in N. D., shuw'ul in W.S.]

Shooling, 197 [shèo'leen], shovelling. This is still pronounced *shèo'leen* in N. Dev. and the Exmoor district, but *shuw'leen* in the rest of W. Som. Prompt. Parv. has 'Schovelyn wythe a schowelle.' This last exactly represents the present pronunciation in W. Som. In the old ditty, 'The Death of Cock Robin,' the word *shovel* is made to rhyme with owl:

'Who'll dig his grave?
I, said the Owl, with my spade and showl,
And I'll dig his grave.'

Shoor and shoor, 12, surely.

To Shoort, 112, to shift for a Living. [I never heard the word, but this explanation does not agree with the text.]

Shug-meazel, 186. I cannot find any certain explanation of this epithet. Throughout W. S. the call for a pig is *chèog! chèog!* and possibly the *shug* of the text may be this word. See *Meazel*. If I am correct the phrase means 'measly pig.'

To Simmer, 563, to simmer, like Water in a Kettle, or Broth in a Pot, when beginning to boil. [súm'ur] (common).

Skulking, 259 [skuul'keen], sneaking.

To Skull, 117, 228, to School; to rate or scold at. [skèol] (very common). The *ull* of this word is identical with the sound of *bull*, *pull*, &c., treated at length in W. S. Dial. *School* is pronounced precisely the same, and hence *to scold* and *to school* are synonymous. Spelt *scollee*, l. 260; *scullest*, l. 228.

To Slat, 101, 248, to slit a Stick or Board lengthwise, to crack, to throw a Thing against the Ground so as to break it;—also to give a Slap or Blow. [slaat]. See W. S. Gram., p. 65.

'How did you kill him?
Slatted his brains out.'

'Marston' (Webster).

This is precisely the expression now to be heard daily in the dialects of N. Dev. and W. Som., except that it would be *slat* instead of *slatted*.

Slop it all up, 190 [zlau^p ut aul aup], to slobber, to eat greedily and noisily, like a pig (very common).

Slotters, 243. See *Zlotters*.

Slottery Weather, Foul Weather. [slaat^{ur}ēē wadh^{ur}] (very common), rainy weather.

Smuggle, 324 [zmuug^l], to hug violently, smotheringly. See *Mullad* (common).

Snappy, 257, 313 [znaap^{ēē}], to speak very snappishly, to snub, to snap at one (very common still). These words are spelt in the text some with *y* and some with *ee*. In all cases the termination is the same, and marks the intransitive inflection of the infinitive. See W. S. Gram., p. 49.

‘King. *Biron is like an envious sneaping frost,
That bites the first-born infants in the spring.*’

Shakspeare, ‘*Love’s Labour Lost*,’ Act i. sc. 1.

‘*Do you sneap me too, my lord?*’

Brome, ‘*Antipodes*’ (Nares).

‘Falstaff. *My lord, I will not undergo this sneap without reply.*’

2 Henry IV., Act ii. sc. 1.

Snewth, 124 [znè^oth], snoweth. This and *blenketh* are good instances of the idiomatic omission of the nom. case. See W. S. G., pp. 34, 51.

Snibble-nose, 107, or rather **Snivel-nose**, One who snuffs up the Snout. —Cutted Snibble-nose, a cutting niggardly Person; One that would save the very Droppings of his Nose:—A common Description of a Miser, in this County. [snúb^l noa^{üz}] (common epithet).

Sooterly, 463 [sè^oturlee], paltry, mean.

To Sowle, 167, 377, 381, to tumble one’s Cloaths, to pull one about, &c. See *Mullad*. (Obsolete.) Spelt *soulad* in the text. ‘To pull by the ears’ (Nares).

‘3rd Servant. *He’ll go, he says, and sowle the porter of Rome gates by the ears.*’—Shakspeare, ‘*Coriolanus*,’ Act iv. sc. 5.

‘*Venus will sowle me by the ears for this.*’

‘*Love’s Mistress*’ (Nares).

The Prompt. Parv. has ‘*Sowlynge, or solwyng, makyng folwe, solwyn or fowlyn.*’ It is probable that the meaning in the text is to imply rough usage, as well as *soiling*.

Soze, 306, or **Soace**, properly for *Sirs*; but sometimes spoken to a Company of Women as well as Men. [soa^{us}] companions, mates; very commonly used, but only in the vocative case. It is probably a vestige of the old monkish preachers, whose *socii* would be analagous to the *brethren* of their modern successors. The word is still preserved in the Winchester ‘*notion*’ *socius*, the school term for the compulsory companion of a boy outside the college precincts.

Spalls, Chips.

To drow vore Spalls, 178, 286, 309, to throw one’s Errors and little Flaws in one’s Teeth, quasi *Spalls* or *Chips*, which fly off from the Car-

penter's Ax or Woodman's Bill:—Or to throw out spiteful Hints, or spit one's Venom against another, quasi Spawls. [droa voa'r spaalz] (common). The *spalls* here do not mean *chips*, as stated above—that word is *spralls*, or *sprawls*. I do not know the meaning of *spalls*, and never heard it in any other connection than the above. See note 5, p. 44. Professor Skeat suggests that it may mean *splinter*. Cf. *spelk*, *spellican*. In Cambs. *spalt* means *split*.

Spare, 293, slow.—It also sometimes means a Thing not constantly used, but kept in reserve for a Friend occasionally, as a Spare-bed, &c. [spae'ür] (very common). *Spare-growing* is a constant description of slow-growing plants.

Splet, 172, 174 [splüt]. This word is used with very different meanings in these two instances—the first meaning to *run* and the second to *split*.

Sprey, 579, 581, sprack, spruce, and clever. [spruy] (very common). This word implies more litheness and activity of body than of mind. *Clever* is quite inappropriate to *sprey* as a Devon word, except in the sense that a horse is clever, *i. e.* a good fencer; but in Norfolk *clever* would mean *spry*. See Ray (ed. Skeat), E. D. S.

Sproil, a Capacity of Motion, Ability to sprawl about, and be active. See Stroil. [sprauy'ul; more commonly sprau'1], activity, quickness of limb. Precisely the substantive of *sprey*.

A good Spud, a good Gift or Legacy, such as may answer your Hopes and Expectations. (Obsolete.) Not in the text.

To Spudlee, 217, or **Spuddle out the Yewmors**, 223—to stir or spread abroad the Embers, with a little Spud or Poker. [spuud'lee] (very common), also to struggle. Halliwell is quite wrong in connecting this word with *embers*. It is very commonly used, and is applied to several meanings. A man, just recovering from an illness, to whom I offered a job of pulling down a bank of earth, said, 'I s'pose I can *spuddle* down thick.' It is usual for farmers to say, 'Come, look sharp, and *spudlee* along.' In the latter it has the force of 'bestir yourself.' In the text, l. 217, it is used in its most usual sense, to *struggle*.

To Squat down, to quat down.

Squattee, 160 [skwaut'ëe], to crouch down, to sit on the heels (very common). See Ruckee.

Squelstering Weather, 276, sweltry or sultry. [skwuul'streen] (common), sweltering.

'The slaughter'd Trojans, squeltring in their blood,
Infect the air with their carcasses.'

'Tragedy of Locrine,' p. 26.

A Stare-bason, 58, One that is saucer-eyed, and impudently stares one in the Face. [stae'ür bae'üsñ] (common epithet).

Stave, 134, a Staff;—also a Tree or Plank laid across the Water for a Foot-bridge, with something of a Rail.—'When the Water was by Stave' (l. 134) or up by Stave, *i. e.* When it was so high as to cover the Bridge, and render it dangerous to pass over. [The definition here given is quite imaginary. The bridge was never called a *stave*.

See Clam. The expression in the text is *by stave*; to show the condition of the river, *i. e.* that it was in flood, and as deep as an ordinary walking-staff. At present it is quite common in the district to speak of a river when in flood as '*stave high*.'

Steehopping, 131, 296, 568, Gadding abroad idly to hear or carry News: Possibly from the British Ystiferion Eve-droppings, and so may denote the Conduct of Eve droppers who hearken for News under Windows; and so is expressive of the Talebearer's chief Employment, *viz.* to carry Stories from House to House. Also, jumping and capering. [*stee'aupeen*]. The derivation here given is simply absurd. Prof. Skeat suggests that *stee* is a way, path—hence 'going by the way.' Cf. *sty-head* (*i. e.* pass-head) and *stee*, a ladder, Cumberland. See Glossary of Cumberland (Dickson), E. D. S., p. 94. Compare also Germ. *steg*. The word is very common, and is applied to any person fond of gadding about. Not long ago I heard a woman thus described, 'Her's always *steehopping* about; better fit her'd bide home and mind her houze.'

'To climb aloft, and others to excel:
That was ambition, a rash desire to sty,
And every link thereof a step of dignity.'

Spenser, 'Faerie Queene,' Bk. ii. c. vii. st. 46.

Steev'd with the Cold, 277, (See Mickled,) quite stiff and frozen. [*u-stee'vd*] (very common).

To Stertlee, to startle. [*stuurtlēe*] (very common). Not used in this sense in the text. See Stertling Roil.

Stertling Roil, 21, 31, a wag-tail Blowze, or one whose Motion is directed like a Ship by the Rudder in her Stern.—'Stertlee upon the Zess,' (as in l. 32, 70) *i. e.* to act the Wag-tail there; (one that will fall down upon her Back with the least Puff of Wind. [*styuur'tleen raun'ul*] (still used, rare). This is quite another word from *to startle*, and is differently pronounced.

Stewarliest, 569 [*stue'urlees*], most careful, best managing, most stewardly (common).

Stinned, 250 [*stúnd*], stunned. Used sometimes for *cracked*—this is probably the meaning in the text.

Stivering, 312, or **Stubvering up against**, Standing stiff. [*stúv'ur-eeen*] (very common). Generally applied to the hair, which is said to be *all stivered up* when it is standing up on end, or of a neat-haired person when his or her hair is ruffled and untidy. The word is also used intransitively in the sense of getting angry—'Did'n her stiver up tho', hon her yeard o' it!' See Busking.

To Stile Linen, 273, &c. to smooth it with a Steel, or ironing Box.—To iron the Clothes. [*stuy'ul*]. The instrument is still known as the *stiling iron*, but I believe *to stile* is now obsolete.

Stomach [*stuum'ik*]. *To take stomach*, is to face, to dare, to brave out (common).

'Katherine. He [Wolsey] was a man
Of an unbounded stomach, ever ranking
Himself with princes.'

Shakspeare, 'Henry VIII.,' Act iv. sc. 2.

'Stern was his look, and full of stomach vain.'

Spenser.

To Stool Terras, 175, to set up wet Turfs two and two, one against another, touching each other at the upper Part, and astrout at the Bottom, that the Wind may blow between them, and help to dry them for Fuel. [stèo'l tuur'uz] (very common). See W. S. Dial., p. 71.

To Stram, 94, 264 [straam], to beat with the fists.

A Stram, 174, any sudden, loud, and quick Sound : So (as a Verb) to Stram the Doors, means to shut them with Noise and Violence.—Hence a bold and unexpected Lie that greatly shocks and surprizes the Hearer, is called a Strammer; and hence also to Strammee, means to tell great and notorious Lies. [straam] (very common).

To Strat, 105, 147, to dash in Pieces; to throw any Thing against the Ground, &c. so as to break it off: Hence to strat the Match that is to break it off, or prevent the intended Marriage. [straat] (common). Spelt *strad* in the text, l. 105.

A Strat in the Chops, 78, 80, 515—A Blow in the Face or Mouth. [straat] (very common). A blow with hand or fist only.

To Strat a Person up,—To dash the foul Water or Mud of the Streets against him, and bespatter him therewith. (Obsolete in this sense.) The word would now be *to slat*, i. e. to splash, to bespatter.

Stroil, 209 (from Struggle) Strength and Agility.—'Thou hast no Stroil or Docity,' i. e. no Activity nor Docility;—No more Agility or Motiou than a Person disabled from striving or struggling. [strauy'ul] (very common), pluck, quickness of eye and limb.

Stroil is also a Denomination of the long Roots of Weeds and Grass, in Grounds not properly cultivated. [strauy'ul] (very common), couch, twitch, *triticum repens*. Not used in the text.

Stroaking, 47, 110, or **Stroocking the Kee**, (i. e. the cows,) Milking after a Calf has suck'd. [struuk'een, stroa'keen] (in constant use). Drawing off a little milk from ewes after the weaning of the lambs; also partially milking a cow when it is intended to dry up the milk. The term is applied to any female, whether man or beast, when it is desired to take no more milk than is necessary to relieve the organs.

A good Stub, 550, 580, a large Sum of Money, whether given or expended; as, 'it cost a good Stub,' i. e. it was bought at a great Price.—'He did not give his Vote without having a good Stub,' that is, a large Bribe. This word is still in common use in the Exmoor district in W. Som. It is more usually *sub*.

A Sture, 49, a Steer; also a Dust raised. [stùe'ür, rarely so pronounced]. For a *dust* it is a different word, *stoa'r*, i. e. *stir*—to *stir* is always *to stoa'r*. A very old and common saying against undue dwelling upon the disagreeable is—'Dhu moo'ür yùe stoa'r-t, dhu wùs t-l staengk.'

Sugs! 331 [suugz]. See note 7, p. 78. This is a variation of *Zooks!*

Swapping, 16, or **Swopping**, big, large, unwieldy;—as the Swopping Mallard of All Souls College in the Song, means a very large

Mallard. [zwaup'reen] (very common), generally used with, and as a complement of, *great* or *big*. See Banging.

'*A filch-man in his handle, a swapping ale dagger at his back, containing by estimation some two or three pounds of yron in the hyltes and chape.*'—'A Countercuffe given to Martin Junior,' 1589 (Nares).

A Swash-bucket, 57, a Wench who carelessly swashes and splashes the Pig's Wash out of the Bucket, when she carries it to feed the Hogs:—That this, or some such slatternly Conduct, whether of the Pig's Bucket, or Milk-Pail, &c. is meant by this Word in the foregoing Dialogues, seems evident; at least that it can have no Reference or Allusion to a Swash-buckler or hectoring Soldier, but to some mean Office of a Woman Servant in the Country. [zwaurs-huuk'ut], common term for a farm-house slattern. Prof. Skeat suggests that this word 'may, after a sort, allude to *swash* in swash-buckler.' The *swash* here used certainly denotes rough force as well as slovenliness. Those who are acquainted with the style of genuine hedge draggletails will at once perceive the full force of the epithet.

'Sam. Draw if you be men. Gregory, remember thy swashing blow.'
—Shakspeare, 'Romeo and Juliet,' Act i. sc. 1.

T

To Tack, 18, 101, 103, 312 (from Attaquer, Fr. to attack) means in Devon, to give a Stroke with the Palm of the Hand, not with a clench'd Fist. [taak] (very common), always to strike with the open hand, to smack. Infants are threatened with having their hands or bottoms *tacked*. Probably *tack* is the same as *tap*.

A Tack, a Stroke so given. (very common). Not in the text.

To Tack Hands, to clap Hands, either by Way of Triumph or Provocation; as also in a Dance, &c. [Not in the text.]

Tackle, good **Tackle**, a Table well furnished.—Good Things, good Provisions. [taak'l] (very common). Applied to food in general, but more frequently to drinkables. I have very often heard the remark upon weak grog, or upon some experimental beverage, 'This is poor *tackle*.' Tackle not in the text.

Tackling, 11, 187 [taak'leen], food, provisions. Anything very nice is frequently called *rae'är taak'leen*. *Tackle* is, however, the commoner word. *Taak'l füt vur dhu keng* is often heard. *Tackling* is the usual name for *harness*.

Tacklou, in Cornish signifies a Creature (? creatures), a Thing (? things)—Good Things, fit Instruments for the Purpose. [Unknown in Devon or W. Somerset.] (Not in the text.) Prof. Skeat says—'Cornish, *tacel*, a thing, a tool; plur. *taclow*, things. Welsh, *tacyl*; plur. *taclau*. Pure Celtic, not Eng. dialect. Hence Eng. *tackle*, Cornish *tacel*, i. e. a thing, instrument, tool, and thence the sense of *tackle* in English.'

Tan, 82, 347, 514 [tan], to beat with some weapon. See *Lace*.

Tanbaste, 219, or **Tanbase**, Scuffling or Struggling. (Obsolete.) Halliwell is wrong in giving this word as a verb.

Taply, 630 (a Corruption of Timely (?), Sax. Timlice tempestive)—Early; betimes in the Morning. (Obsolete, unknown).

To Tare. See Tear.

Tachy, 21, peevish, captious, displeased on every trifling Occasion. [taech·ëe] (very common), touchy. Here is a good example of not dialectal but literary corruption.

'*Touchy* is the absurd corruption of it (tachy). It has nothing to do with *touch*.'—Skeat.

Prompt. Parv. has '*Tetch'e, or maner of condycyone. Mos condicio.*'

'*A chylidis tatches in playe shewe playnlye what they meane*' (mores pueri inter ludendum).—Horman.

'*Offritiæ, crafty and deceytful taches.*'—Elyot.

'*Of the maners, taches, and condyciouns of houndes.*'

'*Master of Game,*' Sloane MS. 3501, c. xi.

'*Sith all children be tached with euill manners.*'

'*Piers Plowman,*' B 9, 146, ed. Skeat, E. E. T. Soc.

'*Alle þyse ar teches & tokenes · to trow vpon ȝet,
& wittnesse of þat wykked werk.*'

Alliterative Poems, 1360, '*Destruction of Sodom,*' l. 1049.

'*And to his fadris maneris enclyne,
& wikkid tacchis and vices escheue.*'

'*Oocleve,*' MS. Soc. Antiq. 134, f. 279.

'*It is a tacche of a devouryng hounde
To resseyve superfluyté and do excesse.*'

MS. Cantab. Ff. 16, f. 157 (Halliwell).

Bailey's Dictionary has *tech* for touch, marked as *old*. Coles has '*Titchy, morosus, difficilis. To be titchy, asperibus moribus esse.*'

'*Duchess. A grievous burden was thy birth to me;
Tetchy and wayward was thy infancy.*'

Shakspeare, '*Richard III.,*' Act iv. sc. 4.

'*Troilus. I cannot come to Cressid but by Pandar;
And he's as tetchy to be woo'd to woo,
As she is stubborn-chaste against all suit.*'

Shakspeare, '*Troilus and Cressida,*' Act i. sc. 1.

It is easy to see how from simple 'frame of mind' the word developed an evil significance. Webster completely slurs over the word as colloquial, and calls it '*vulgarly techy or tetchy;*' while Johnson says it comes from *touch*!

Taties, 193, Potatoes. [tae·üdeez] (always so).

To Tear or Tare, 218, 292, 294, signifies (in Devon) not only to rend, crack, or break, but also to make a great Stir. [tae·ur] (very common). Windows or crockery are *torn*, while clothes are *broken* [u-broa·kt]. It is very usual to hear of a person in a passion, '*Wad-n ur in a purty tare, hon a yeard o' it?*' or '*You never zeed nobody in no such tare in all your li-ve.*'

To Tear or tare along, 541—to bustle through business, to be stirring and active.—'*How do hare tare along*' (p. 100) i. e. How doth she go

on, or make her Way in the World? How doth her Diligence and Assiduity succeed? [tae'ür laung] (common). See note 6, p. 100.

Ted, 113, or **Tet**, to be ordered or permitted to do a Thing; as 'I ted go home at such a Time,' i. e. I am to go home, &c. 'We tet not put on our Shoes till we have them,' i. e. We are not to put them on till, &c. [taed] (rare), bound, or under obligation. There is no idea of being *ordered* in this word—it is that of being *tied*. Cf. 'tied to time.' Prof. Skeat thinks *ted* in this phrase a p. part. of *tie*. The word also means to turn or shake hay, in which sense it is a different word altogether. Mr. Chorley says that a farmer would say to his man, 'Thee tak the machine, and go and *ted* thick mead o' hay.'

*'Then Dick and Doll, with fork and rake,
Trudge after him, the hay to make;
With bouncing Bess and piping John,
Merry as crickets every one;
Tedding, turning, cocking, raking,
And such bus'ness in hay making.
The lads and lasses sweat and fry,
As they the grass do toss and dry.'*

'Poor Robin,' A.D. 1746.

Tedious, 107 [tai'jus], aggravating (very common).

Teeheeing, 130 [tee-hee'en], giggling, tittering, silly laughing (still very common). 'Very old.'—Skeat.

'Te he! quoth she, and clapt the window to.'

Chaucer, 'Cant. Tales,' l. 3738.

'For all the tee-hees that have been broke by men of droll, or dirt that has been thrown from daring spight.'—Fairfax, 'Bulk and Selvedge of the World,' A.D. 1674 (Halliwell).

*'But when the hobby-horse did wihi,
Then all the wenches gave a tihi.'*

Cobbe, 'Brit. Popular Antiquities,' vol. 1, p. 207.

Teening, 314. See Candle-teening.

*'Wash your hands, or else the fire
Will not teend to your desire.'*

*'Part must be kept wherewith to teend
The Christmas log next yeare.'*

'Come while the log is teending.'

Herrick (author of 'Cherry Ripe'), 'Hesperides,' A.D. 1620.

*'Ne was there salve, ne was there medicine,
That might recure their wounds; so inly they did tine.'*

Spenser, 'Faerie Queene,' Bk. ii. c. xi. 21.

Compare *tinder*, tinder-box. See note 10, p. 59.

Teening-bottle, 287 [tee-neen bau'tl], tin-bottle. *Tin* is always *tee-neen*. See W. S. Gram., p. 19.

Tell, 150 [tuul], to say, to speak, to talk. See notes to ll. 116, 138.

Terra or **Terve**, 175, a Turf. [tuur'ù] (always thus). See W. S. Dial., p. 71.

Tervee, 216, to struggle and labour to get free. [tuur'vĕe] (common).

Tether, 139, 160, 311 [taedh'ur, tuudh'ur], other. See note, l. 281.

It should be noted that although *tother* may now be almost accepted in colloquial English, as in *tother day*, it only occurs in Early English when preceded by *þe*, because *þe toþer* = *þet oþer*.

'Bot *þe tō shall for þe toþ' dye.*'

Chronicon Vilodunense, ed. Hoare, st. 236.

i. e. *that one, that other*. This distinction is still very much more retained by real dialect speakers than by mere users of colloquial phrases. The former still retain *the before tother* in most cases.

Tether-eend, 281 [taedh'ur ee'n], seat, Podex (very common).

Tetties, 375 (Teats,) Breasts. [tūt'eez] (the usual name). Corn. *tidi*, the breast, pap; Welsh, *did*. Prompt. Parv. '*Tete, uber.*'

Thick-lifted, 126, short winded or breathing with Difficulty, (as very fat Persons do)—Asthmatical. [thik lū'fud] (common), given to pant and puff, wheezy. This word is given as *thick-listed* in some editions, and so is copied by Halliwell. (*Thecklifted* in the text.)

To Thir, 475—This signifies much the same as to Dere, a Word commonly used by Nurses in Devonshire, signifying to frighten or hurry a Child out of his Senses. (Rare, obsolescent.)

Thirl or Therl, 73, gaunt and lank, thin and lean. (Obsolete.) Spelt *therle* in the text.

Thoa, 355, 556 [dhoa'], then. See note, l. 351. So used by most old writers.

Thof, 215, 268, 348, 628 [thau'f], though or although. This word is always pronounced with the *th* sharp as in *think* and the *ough* as *off*; on the other hand *trough* (*trau'f* in lit. Eng.) is invariably pronounced *troa'*. See W. S. Gram., p. 94. See note, l. 215.

'*þou Bethleem Iuda,*

þof þou be noght þe mast cité,

þou es noght lest of dignité.'

Cursor Mundi (A.D. 1320), Visit of the Magi, l. 97, ed. Morris.

'*And dampnyd men he savede fele*

þaw þey weron dampnyd in þt stounde.'

Chronicon Vilodunense (A.D. 1420), ed. Hoare, st. 277.

'*And thofe the bryde blythe be*

That Percyvelle hase wone the gree.'

'*Thozfe Percevelle has slayne the rede knyght,*

3itt may another be als wyghte.'

'Perceval,' A.D. 1453 (Halliwell).

Thong, 77, 364, 514 [dhaung], to thrash with some limp *thong* or lash-like instrument (very common). See Lace.

Thounging, 6, 501 [dhaung'een], flinging or swinging the skirts or *tail* by bouncing about, so as to make them resemble a great whip. The word is most expressive, and means much more than bouncing (common).

Thort, 333 [dhau'rt], thought. Still always pronounced thus—*r* quite distinct as in *fought*. See *Vort*; also note 9, p. 78.

Tiltish, 42 [túl'teesh], uppish, touchy, ready to take offence (common). Of a horse, apt to kick.

Tiltishness, 75 [túl'teeshnees], fretfulness, touchiness, ill temper (common).

Timersome, 59, Passionate. [tum'ursum] (common), sensitive, easily roused in temper; also shy, timid.

Ting, a long Girt or Surcingle, that girds the Panniers tight to the Pack-Saddle. [ting] (common), a tying, usually a long strap of raw hide.

To Ting a Person, 72, to give him or her a tight Scolding; or to upbraid one with such Particulars as touch the quick, and pinch as feelingly as the Ting does the Belly of the Horse when tightly buckled. [ting, more commonly ding]. The connection here assumed with ting = a girth, is very far-fetched; it seems to me much more allied to the *ding*, *dong* of a persistently sounding bell. To *ding* a person is to scold loudly and long.

Tirant, special, extraordinary. [See *Tyrant*. The explanation here is incorrect, but, as usual, copied by Halliwell.]

Torn or Tourn, 255, a Spinning Wheel; so call'd from its turning round. [tuurn] (very common). The whole machine is called a *turn*, *quill-turn*, or *spinning turn*. The *wheel* is only that part which drives the *spindle*. See *Pad*. A very favourite description of any article much patched or renewed by instalments is '*Dhik-s jis lig dh-oa'l duum'unz speen'veen tuurn*.' The *turn* in question is said to have first had a new wheel, then new legs, then new spindle, then new frame, but always to have been the same *turn*.

Torn, 37 [tuurn], moment, instant. 'Every other turn' is still a constant expression for 'now and again,' or for any quickly repeating incident. It may be taken from the spinning-wheel or from ploughing, when at every alternate *turn* the plough passes by the same spot.

Toteling, 53 [toa'tleen], slow moving, inactive, dead-alive (common). Applied also to the slow, laboured movement of aged and infirm people.

A Totle, 120, 293, a slow lazy Person; an idle Fool, that does his Work awkwardly and slowly.—(so call'd perhaps, q. d. Taught ill, but Q. as to this?) (Obsolete.)

To Totle and totee about, 253—to totter up and down. [toa'tl] (common). *Tottle* is rather a common surname.

To Towzee, 216, 291, to toss and tumble. [tuw'zée] (rare). Spelt *towsee* in the text, l. 216.

To Toze, 346, 513 [toa'üz], used in the text for to *thrash*, but it conveys the idea of *twisting*, or rather *untwisting*, as if a struggle or scuffle had been the beginning of the fray. The common meaning is to *untangle*, to loosen by pulling. To *toze* out matted locks with a comb is the usual expression. A *knot* difficult to untie must be a *toz'd*.

'Autolycus. *Think'st thou, for that I insinuate, or toze from thee thy business, I am therefore no courtier?*'—Shakspeare, 'Winter's Tale,' Act iv. sc. 3.

Prompt. Parv. has 'Tosare, of wulle or other lyke. *Carptrix.*'

Johnson has 'Tose, to comb wool.'

Trapes, 65, 158, 470, 634 [trae'ups], a woman all bedraggled by walking through deep mud, hence a slattern (common).

Trapsee, 200 [trae'upsē], to walk through a wet or muddy path, and to get all bedraggled. A man may *trae-upsee dræ dhu muuks*, but he would never be called a *trapes*. A man said to me, 'I was a forced to *trapsee* all the way to Withypool avore I voun un.'

Trem, 515 [trúm], to trim, *i. e.* thrash or beat (still very common), with or without instrument. See *Cotton*.

'*An she would be coold, sir, let the soldiers trim her.*'

Beaumont and Fletcher, 'False One,' Act ii. sc. 3.

Trest up a ground, 305 [u-trúst aup u graewn], trussed up above ground, *i. e.* hung (a rare but not obsolete phrase).

Trim, 86 [trúm], to beat. Generally spoken in connection with children—in that case it implies slapping with the open hand. See *Trem*.

A Troant, 282, 283 (not a Truant or Micher, but in Dev.) a foolish witless Fellow, and sometimes a lazy loitering Lubber. (Obsolete.)

A Trolubber, 265, or **Trough-lubber**, a common Labourer, whose ordinary Business is hedging and ditching. [troa'luub'ur] (very common), one whose work is mostly with *troa'z*, *i. e.* troughs or ditches; hence a clownish, heavy, slouching fellow. A ditch is nearly always a *ditch-trough* [deech-troa']. ? is this the origin of *trolloper* and *trollop*?

Troubled, 20, 29, 439 [truub'ld], afflicted. This word is still used in connection with all kinds of disease or ailments. *Uur-z u-truub'ld wai dhu ræ'maatik*; he is troubled with the *ar-y-sup'ulees*, &c. The word has in the above sentences a frequentative meaning, equivalent to 'subject to rheumatism,' *erysipelas*, &c. It is also the usual word for *haunted*. See note, l. 439. A very common saying respecting any one who is believed to appear after death is, 'he's main troublesome.'

Trub, 104, 106, 262, 503 [trèob], a drab, a slut, a good-for-nothing, useless wench. This is an opprobrious epithet for a woman. See *Chun*. (Very rare now.)

How do you Try? 317, 327, 551—How do you find yourself? How do you do?—Sometimes the Salutation is, 'How d'ye hold it?' to which some Punsters will answer, 'In both hands when I can catch it;' but the Meaning is, how do you hold or retain your Health?—A Nautical Term. [aew d-ee traay] (rare, but not obsolete salutation).

Twined, 217 [twuyn'ud], twisted, wriggled (very common still). Note that intransitive verbs have their past inflexion fully sounded *ud*. See W. S. G., pp. 45, 77. See also *Rolly*.

Tyrrant, 568 [tuy runt], a pushing, driving, bustling person. No implication of oppression or cruelty is conveyed by this expression, any more than in *cruel good*. 'Her's a tyrant for butter and cheese,' is an every-day expression, and means that she is an excellent hand at making them. The word is only applied to women.

U

Unlifty, 103, Unwieldy. [aun-lúftée] (common), clumsy, awkward.

Upazet, 230, *or* **Uppa-zit**, opposite; set before you in full view. [aupuzaut]. This word has no connection with *opposite*. Halliwell's definition, 'Upazet. In perfection' (copied from old Gloss., see p. 68), is an absurd invention to complete the sense of the passage. The phrase means *up-a-set*, set up in view, or exhibited as plainly as if 'Ount Sybyl Moreman' were before you. The use of the word in the text, though somewhat redundant, is quite in keeping with the spirit of the dialect, and is not at all uncommon. I heard a man say of another, whom he had recognised, 'I be so safe 'twas he, as auf (though) I'd a got-'n now avore me, *up-a-zot*,' i. e. set up for inspection. Cf. Upzetting.

Up-reert, 151, 510 [aup-ree-urt, oftener aup-rai't], upright. In early editions it is *lee a rope out-reert*. See notes, l. 151.

Upzetting, 8, 380, i. e. Up-sitting;—a Gossipping or Christening Feast. [aup-zút'een] (common). At present the being dressed and ready to receive visitors after a wedding, funeral, &c., is called 'sitting up,' and the days when such visitors are expected are called 'sitting up days.'

Uze, 229 [yùe'z], use, custom, habit (still very common).

V

To Vag, 80, 515, to thwack, or beat one with a Rod, &c. to fag. (Obsolete.)

To vall over the Desk, 475, a Cant Term for having had the Banns of Marriage published in the Church. [vaal oa'yur dhu dús] (still a common saying).

To Vang, 8, to take:—And likewise to undertake at the Font of Baptism, as a Sponsor for a Child.—In the Præter Vung (?).—Thus l. 8, 'When tha vungst (and be hang'd to tha!) to Robbin'—i. e. When thou wert Godmother (and may hanging await thee!) to Robin. [vang] (very common), to hold, to seize. Cf. fang. I have never heard of *vung* for the past tense, and believe it never existed; if it did, it is now quite forgotten. It no longer signifies to become sponsor. The present term for that duty is to *stand for* [tu stan vaur]. The verb is conjugated *vang*, *vang(d)* before a vowel, *u-vang(d)* before a vowel. Compare Germ. *fangen*. See note, l. 256. See E. D. S. Gloss. B. 14.

Vurjuice, 411 [vaar'jees], verjuice; a common exclamation.

Vath, 400, 475, 553, 610, 624. See *Fath*.

Vath and trath! 454 [faath-n traath!], a rather stronger interjectional phrase than *faath!* only, = 'by my faith and troth.' The expression

is still much used, and in it alone is the word *troth* extant. Whether *traath* is the original pronunciation, or whether it has been adapted to match *faath*, is a question for students. See *Fy*.

Vauthe [fau'th], fault. This pronunciation is still not uncommon, but *fawt* or *fawt* are more usual. (Not in the text.)

Veaking, 42, 75, 308 (quasi *Feiging*, *Carping*;) fretful and peevish. (Obsolete.) The explanatory word *Feiging*, in all the editions, is obsolete also.

Veest, 93 [vees, often vuys; plur. vee'stez, vuy'stez], fist.

Vengeance, 4, 35, 207, 506 [vai'njuns], still a very common name for the Devil. See also 'Somerset Man's Complaint,' p. 9.

'Left to conflict nakedly with hell and vengeance.'

Rogers (1642), 'Hist. of Naaman,' p. 39.

Verly bleive, 303 [vuur'lée blai'v], verily believe; still a very common form of asseveration. *Verily* is always sounded as two syllables.

Vet et, 252, 303 [vút ut], fetch it, *i. e.* come round, recover. This word is altogether different from *to vit meat*. It is, I think (l. 252), the p. part. of *fetch*. We see the word spelt *vett* in the 'Somerset Man's Complaint,' p. 8, and *fet* by Chaucer. In the 'Chronicon Vilo-dunense' the word is used frequently in different forms, in all of which it has a form more like the modern dialectal. *Fetch* is now pronounced *fuach* or *vauch*. In stanza 732 of the Chron. Vilo. we read *fache* for the infin. of *fetch*.

'hurre soule was fate to hevene w' angels ffre.'—st. 482.

'Bot Seynt Ede was dede forsothe byfore
And hurre soule fatte to hevene blysse.'—st. 549.

'For bleynde men hadden þere hurr' seȝt
And crokette and maymotte fatton þere hurre hele:
Miracles weron do þer' þus day and nyȝt
And skemen come þedur mony and ffele.'—st. 586.

'A basyn w' wal' þo forthe was fatte.'—st. 704.

'twey p'stes . . . fetten þe shryne.'—st. 1174.

In *Piers Plowman*, about the same date as the above, we read:

'And of-sente hire a-swipe · Seriauns hire to fette.'—Pass. III. 96.

'Freres with feir speches · fetten him þennes.'—Pass. II. 205.

Gower has:

'And þanne he let þe cofres fette
Vpon þe bord and dede hem sette.'

Tale of the Coffers, l. 45.

Chaucer has:

'A Briton book, writen with Euangiles,
Was fet, and on this book he swor anon.'

Man of Lawes tale, 668.

See note 3, p. 8.

Viggee, 216 [vig'ee]. See *Vigging*.

Vigging, 218 (See *Potee*,) *vig*, *vig*, *vig*; used to express the Action of Dogs digging with their Feet, in order to scratch out Fleas. [vig'een] (this would be still understood, rare).

'The old word is *fike*, of which *fidget* is the diminutive.'—Skeat.

The Prompt. Parv. has 'Fykiñ a-bowte, *infra in* Fyskiñ.' 'Fiskiñ a-bowte yn ydilnesse.'

'*I praye you se howe she fysketh aboute.*'—Palsgrave.

'Trotière, a raumpe, fising, fising huswife, raunging damsell.'—Cotgrave.

'*Makeð feir semblaunt, & fikeð mid te heaned.*'

'Ancren Riwele,' p. 206.

'*þet flickereð so mit þe, & fikeð mid dogge uawenunge.*'

Ibid, p. 290, ed. Camden Soc.

'*And since I trotted from my trotter stall,*

And figd about from neates feete neatly drest.'

'A Quest of Enquirie,' A.D. 1598 (Nares).

Vinnied or Vinnad, Finnewed, Mouldy. [vún'ud] (the usual term in every-day use), mildewed, spotted with mould, or with any defiling matter. Cheese with green mould is always called *vún'ud*. Webster gives this word as '*vinnewed*, obsolete.'

'*Many of Chaucer's words are become as it were vinew'd and hoarie with over long lying.*'—T. Beaumont to Speght, in his Chaucer (Nares).

'*A souldier's hands must oft be died with goare,
Lest, sturke with rest, they finew'd waxe and hoare.*'

'Mirror for Mag,' p. 417.

'*A panary of wholesome food, against fenowed traditions.*'—Bible Translator's Preface to Readers.

'*The old moth-eaten leaden legend, and the foisty and fenowned festival.*'—Dr. Favour, cited by Todd (Nares).

In Shakspere the word is *whinid* in early editions, but in later ones, e. g. Stebbing, it is quite deflavoured and spoilt by the reading *unsalted*.

'*Ajax. Speak then, thou whinid'st leaven, speak: I will beat thee into handsomeness.*'—Troilus and Cressida, Act ii. sc. 1.

'Fenne has occasionally the abstract signification of mire.' In Vegecius, Roy. MS. 18, A. xii., Scipio speaks '*with this reprobable scorne; ye ben worthy, to be blotteded and spotteded, foulede and defoulede with fenne and with drit of water (luto inquinari) and of blode, þat in tyme of werre ne were not, ne wolde nat be bespreynt ne be wette with ennemyes blode.*'—Bk. iii. c. 10, Prompt. Parv. p. 155, ed. Way.

Vinny, 139, a Battle or Skirmish; and in the foregoing Dialogues (see p. 40) a scolding Bout.—Possibly from Whinniard (?), a Hanger or crooked Sword, used as a Defence from Assaults; and this perhaps derived from the Latin Vindieta (?), Revenge: For the Word Vinny here, cannot mean to whinny or neigh like a Horse, this being a signal of kind Invitation, rather than garrulous Opposition. [Obsolete.] This derivation is far too speculative. Why may not this word also be derived from *fenn* = mire; hence bespattering or befouling as the usual result of a tussle? Cf. 'throwing dirt.' See Vinnied.

To Vine-dra Voaks, 201, i. e. to finedraw Folks; to flatter or deceive People by fair Speeches;—to cut their Throats with a Feather. [I believe it would have been pronounced *fa'n draa voaks*.] To 'fine-

dra a stoar' (a tale) would mean to grossly exaggerate. 'Thick there stoar's too *fine a dra'd*,' is not an uncommon saying. I cannot find any trace of the word being now used as in the text.

Vire-tangs, 72 [vuy'ur-tangz]. The common tongs are still called most usually the *fire-tongs*. *Tongs* alone are smith's pincers.

To Vit Meat, to dress it, or make it fit to be eaten. (Obsolete.) Not in the text. Halliwell is again absurdly wrong in copying this, and so giving '*Vit*. To dress meat.' To *vit* is clearly to make fit, and is simply the transitive form of the verb, of which to *vittee* is the intransitive and frequentative. A native never could have got his mouth into shape to utter 'to *vittee* meat,' but he would of course have said 'the mait will *vittee*.' It is evident the last century glossarist was a native and practically knew the true meanings of the words, though he was unconscious of the grammatical connection. See W. S. Gram., p. 49, *et seq.*

To Vittee, 57, 262, to go well, fitly, and successfully. [vút'ée] (common), to thrive, to get on.

Vitty, 73, 462, 464, 553, 559, 569 (quasi fitty,) apt, decent, handsome and well. [vút'ée] (very common); also as an adverb—properly, in the right manner. Spelt *vittee*, l. 73.

Vittiness, 209 [vút'inees], dexterity, neat-handedness (very common).

Vlagged, 74 [vlag'ud], loose, flaccid, flabby (very common).

Vlee, 299 [vlee], to fly; so always *vlee lig u buurd*, 'fly like a bird.' Always, as in the text, *fly to*, not *fly at*.

Voar, Voor, or Vore, 286—Forth;—Also a Furrow. [voa'r] (very common still in all the senses found in the text).

To drow voar, 286, 309, i. e. to throw forth; to twit a Person with a Fault. [tu droa voa'r] (very common). See note 5, p. 44.

Voar-and-Back, 119, revers'd; the Right-hand Side being placed on the Left, or what should be forward put backward: So up and-down (in the Devonsh. Dialect) means up side-down, or inverted. [voa'r-n baak] (very common); *baak-n-voa'r* is more usual. Spelt *vore-and-back*, l. 119. I do not think this expression means *fore* or *right hand back*, or *back-hand forward*, as here implied—(a) because no stress is laid on the *and*, which is clipped down to a mere sound of *n* in both the forms I have given; and (b) because the same idiomatic form is used to express the other positions of reversal, *e. g. in-and-out* [een-un-æwt] is invariable for *inside-out*, and *up-and-down* [aup-m-dæwn] for *upside-down*. If *hand* were intended it would have stress—the *right side* is always called right-hand side [rai't-an-zuyd], or left-hand side [laft-an-zuyd] for *left side*.

Prof. Skeat suggests that the *and* in *up-and-down*, &c., is *on*; i. e. *up-on-down* = *up-* (side) *on-down* (side). This is very probable.

Vokes, 202 [voaks], folks, people. Also spelt *voaken*, ll. 197, 385, 525, but this latter form is quite obsolete. According to context, the word may mean people in general or the work-people. Usually *vok*, as in ll. 291, 383, would mean people in general, while the plural, as in l. 297,

means work-people. It is most common to distinguish men and women, as *mai'n voaks*, *wuom'een voaks*. See note 9, p. 47. Spelt *voaks*, l. 202.

Vore, 286 [voa'r], for (emphatic).

Vore, 229 [voa'r], until. See notes, ll. 108, 229.

Vore-Days or **Voar-Days**, 122, late, or forward in the Day; the Day being far advanced. [voa'r daiz]. *Be voor days* in the text. The expression *vore-days* is rare, while *vore-day*, or *avore-day* is very common. The latter undoubtedly means 'before daylight.' Halliwell, as usual, throws no light, but simply copies this glossary. Bosworth certainly gives A.S. *forð dæges*, at the close of day; but I can find no passage in later Eng. to confirm the definition of *vore days* given above. See *Be voor days*.

Vore-reert, 50, 120, forth-right, or right forward.—headlong, without Circumspection. [voa'r ree'ürt] (rare, obsolescent); [voa'r ruyt], the present form (very common). Spelt *vore-reet*, l. 50. This word has at present a stronger force in the dialect than it seems to have possessed formerly, if we are to accept the definitions of dictionary makers. Bosworth gives '*forð riht*, right forward, direct, plain;' and much the same sense is given to the word by Beaumont and Fletcher and by Massinger, according to Webster. The vernacular meaning is truly given in the glossary, the idea being headstrong, unreasoning, hence rudely blustering. The following quotations seem to imply something approaching the force of the dialect:

‘*Though he foreright*
Both by their houses and their persons pass'd.’
Chapman, ‘*Odyssey*,’ xvii.

‘*Fil. Hey boy! how sits the wind?*
Gios. Fore-right, and a brisk gale.’

‘*The Slighted Maid*,’ p. 3 (Nares).

Vorewey, 170, 354, 556, 558 [voa'rwai, voarwai], immediately, straight away. This word (still very common) does not imply quite so instantaneous an action as *wi' tha zame*. See note 2, p. 44. In some cases this word would have just the meaning of literary *fore-right*.

Vorked, forked. 48, ‘so vur's tha art a vorked’ i. e. so far as thou art forked: and l. 135, ‘drade tha out by the vorked Eend’ i. e. drew thee out by the forked End; which Phrases want no other Explanation, the Fork therein meant being well known: And perhaps it may not be deem'd beside our Purpose to add, that the same Word is us'd for the Twist or Twissel of Maiden Trees. [vaur'kud]. See W. S. Gram., p. 81. (Common.)

Vort or **Voart**, 334, fought.—‘Es thort you coudent a vort zo’ i. e. I thought you could not have fought so. [vau'rt] (common). Most words in *ought* have an *r* in them. See *Thort*, *Nort*.

Vor why? 208 [vur waa'y], on which account, because, wherefore (common phrase as here used).

‘*Al þ' vuel of Dina þ' ich spec of er, ne com nout*
forðui þ' te wummen lokede cangliche o weopmen.’

‘*Ancren Riwe*,’ ed. Camden Soc., p. 56.

' *And swa wald God at it suld be ;*

For-whi he sayd þus till Noe.'

Non permanebit, &c.

Richard of Hampole, 'Pricke of Conscience,' l. 732.

' *For sythen mans lyf bycom shortere,*

For-whi þe complection of ilk man

Was sythen febler þan it was þan.'—Ibid, l. 744.

Vramp-shapen, 120, distorted. [vraamp shee-upm] (obsolete). In the text this word is *shaken*—this is clearly an error or misprint. Possibly the same as *frampold*.

Vreach, 282, Readily, carefully, diligently and earnestly. [vrai'ch], actively, with spirit (common). The idea is the same in 'the *free* horse,' i. e. energetic, with all the might. I believe this is the old word *wreche*, which would be naturally pronounced *vreach*, like *vrite*, *vrestle*, &c.

' *That may be heled with no leche,*

So violent thei are and full of wreche.'

MS. Addit. 11,305, f. 97.

' *And couere me atte that dredful day,*

Til that thy wreche be y-passed away.'

Ibid, f. 75 (Halliwell).

' *Ne do þu nout him scheome, so þet tu uorhowie*

Wreche of his dome 7 nime to þin owne dome.'

Ancoren Riwele, p. 286, ed. Cam. Soc.

Vulch, 67, 354. See *Fulch*.

Vull-stated. See *Full-stated*.

A Vump, 86, a Thump. [vuump] (rare).

To Vump, to thump, or give one Blows with the Fist;—also to vamp or botch up old Clothes. (Obsolete.)

Vung, 8, 256. See *Vang*. Halliwell gives '*Vung*, received. *Devon*,' but no such word is known, or ever has been, in the dialect.]

Vustin Fume, 521, a mighty Fume, a swelling boisterous Rage. (*Vustin* obsolete, *fume* not dialect.)

Vustled up, 107, wrapped up; a Lat. Fascia (?). [vuuns'ld aup] (very common). This means more than *wrapped up*—it is *bustled up* or *bundled up*, like a very loose, untidy package. *B* and *v* are constantly interchanged, as in *ruvle* (rubble), *curbe* (curve).

Vuzzy-park, 114 [vuuz'ēe paark], the name of a field still very common on many hill farms. It implies a pasture field liable to be overrun with furze or gorse. See note 8, p. 37.

W

Waistcoat, 155 [wae'us'koa'ut]. This was not always a man's garment. The short jackets still worn by peasant women, just reaching below the waist, are still called *waistcoats*. Beaumont and Fletcher speak of a fine lady wanting

A ten pound waistcoat, or a nag to hunt on.

‘Woman’s Prize,’ Act i. sc. 4.

The word is used for the name of a woman’s garment by them in several plays, also by Massinger (‘City Madam’) and in ‘Poor Robin.’

Wambling, 53, a Rumbling or Commotion in the Guts;—also waving tumbling or lolling a Thing backward and forward, or from Side to Side. [waum·leen] (very common), unsteady, going from side to side. A wheel running much ‘out of truth’ is said to *waum’l*. A stock for centre-bits is a *waum’l stauk*.

The Prompt. Parv. has ‘Wamelynge, of þe stomake, *idem quod* walmynge. *Nausia*.’

‘*Allecter*, to wamble as a queasie stomacke dothe.’—Cotgrave.

In Trevisa’s version of ‘Barth. de Propriet.’ it is said of mint: ‘*It abateth with vynegree parbrakinge* (q. v.), *and casting, that comethe of feblennesse of the vertue retentyf; it taketh away abhominacion of wambling and abatethe the yexeing.*’

To wamble in this sense is still very common, but in the text, l. 53, the meaning is *rambling*, like a drunken man.

Wangary or Wangery, 74, soft and flabby. [wang·urée] (very common). This is the regular word used by butchers to express the condition of meat which will not get solid—a very common fault in warm weather, or if the animal was out of condition when slaughtered. I heard a very respectable cook say (1879) of some meat, ‘Twon’t never take salt when ‘tis so *wangery*.’ This word is the same as *to wang*, to shake about, to be unsteady, to wag.

Wapper-eyed, 59, Goggle-eyed, having full rolling Eyes; or looking like one scared;—or squinting like a Person overtaken with Liquor. —Possibly from *wapian*, Sax. fluctuare, stupere. [waap·ur uyd] (very common).

‘Chell Warndy, 270, 281, 332, 527, I’ll warrant you. [wau·rnt-ee] (very common). It is to be carefully noted that, as explained in note, l. 332, the *y* in *warndy* represents *ye*, and the word is correctly defined by the glossarist. Halliwell is utterly wrong in giving ‘*warndy*, to warrant.’ The word should be read as *warrant-ye* or *warnt-ee*. To *warrant* (v. tr.) is *warn*, as ‘I’ll *warn* thick ‘orse sound.’ Before a vowel or vowel sound the *t* is heard, as in ‘I’ll *warnt-y*,’ the usual form of asseveration; *i. e.* warrant you.

Washamouth, 138, One that blabs out every Thing at random, or whatever happens to be uppermost. [waursh·unaewf] (common).

Wee wow or a-wee-wow, 275 (see note)—Waving this Way and that Way; prave, perverse. [wee wuw] (very common), unsteady, out of truth, as of a wheel very loose on its axles, and so running in zig-zags.

Well a fine, 81, 269, very well. See note, l. 81.

Well to pass, In a thriving Way, possess’d of a good Estate, or having a competent Fortune. [wuul tu paas] (rare).

Went agen. See note 1, p. 90. Appeared after death.

Wetherly, 220. See p. 69 (obsolete).

Wey, 10, 32, 58, 72 [wai], with.

A Whappet, 517, a Blow with the Hollow of the Hand. [waup'ut] (very common). The word is now *whap* [waup].

Whare, 13 [hwae'ur, *emphatic*; wuur, *unemph.*], whether (still the common form).

'Why here's all fire, wit, where he will or no.'

'Match at Midnight,' vii. 386.

*'Lady Frampul. I know not wher I am or no; or speak,
Or whether thou dost hear me.'*

Ben Jonson, 'New Inn,' Act v. sc. 1.

'Good sir, say wher' you'll answer me or not.'

'Comedy of Errors,' Act iv. sc. 1.

*'No matter now, wher thou be false or no,
Goswin; whether thou love another better,
Or me alone; or wher thou keep thy vow.'*

Beaumont and Fletcher, 'Beggar's Bush,' Act v. sc. 1.

Wharewey, 235, *Wherewith*, or *Wherewithal*. [wae'ur-wai] (very common).

Whatjecomb, 440, or **Whatchecam**, what d'ye call him? [hauch-ikum] (very common).

Whatnozed, for hot nosed, (formerly spelt hoate-nosed,) red-nosed, as if heated by drinking too freely. [waut-noa'üzud] (common).

A Wherret or **Whirret**, 100, 518, a Clap or Cuff given on the Face, according to Minshew; but in Dev. it rather means a Box o' the Ear. [wur'ut] (very common).

*'Troth, now I'm invisible, I'll hit him a sound wherret on the ear,
when he comes out of the garden.'*—'Puritan,' Act iv. sc. 2.

'How meekly

This other fellow here received his whirrit.'

Beaumont and Fletcher, 'Nice Valour,' Act iv. sc. 3.

Whileer, 88, 140, 152, 276, i. e. a while e're or a while before; a little while since. [wuy'lae'ür] (obsolescent). Spelt *whilere*, l. 152; ere-while.

*'Caliban. Let us be jocund; will you troll the catch
You taught me but whileere.'*

Shakspeare, 'Tempest,' Act iii. sc. 2.

*'That cursed wight, from whom I scapt whileare,
A man of hill, that calls himself despair.'*

Spenser, 'Faerie Queene,' Bk. 1, ix. 28.

*'Doe you not know this seely timorous deere,
As usual to his kinde, hunted whileare.'*

Browne, 'British Pastimes,' i. 3, p. 69.

Whitstone, a Whetstone; a Liar's Property. See Notes on P. 78 & 79. [The term *whetstone* for a liar, or for the prize for lying, seems to be very old, and, according to Nares, was a standing jest among our ancestors as a satirical premium to him who told the greatest lie.

Ray puts first '*He deserves a whetstone,*' among proverbial phrases denoting liars.

*'And what shall he gain that gets the victorie in lying?
He shall have a silver whetstone for his labour.'*

Lupton, '*Too Good to be True,*' p. 80, A.D. 1580.

Other instances are given in '*Popular Antiquities,*' i. p. 429. Mendax, the liar, in an old Morality (Bulleyn's), cited in Waldron's '*Sad Shepherd,*' pp. 162, 220, says his arms are

'Three whetstones in gules, with no difference.'

*'Well might Martano beare away the bell,
Or else a whetstone challenge us his dew,
That on the sodaine such a tale could tell,
And not a word of all his tale was true.'*

Harrington, '*Trans. of Ariosto,*' xviii. 36.

*'Crites. Cos! how happily hath fortune furnished him
With a whetstone.'*

Ben Jonson, '*Cynthia's Revels,*' Act i. sc. 1.

Hence the force of Bacon's sarcasm to Digby, who was unable to describe the philosopher's stone which he professed to have seen, '*Perhaps it was a whetstone.*'

'It is a custom in the North when a man tells the greatest lie in the company to reward him with a *whetstone*; which is called lying for the *whetstone*,'—Budworth, '*Fortnight's Ramble to the Lakes,*' ch. 6, A.D. 1792.

*'Diurnals writ for regulation
Of lying, to inform the nation,
And by their public use to bring down
The rate of whetstones in the kingdom.'*

Butler, '*Hudibras,*' pt. ii. l. 57.

To whister, 297, 624, to whisper.—'*Zart! Whistery*' P. 108, i. e. Soft! let us whisper. [wús'tur] (common).

A Whisterpoop, 93, 353, 518, a Sort of whistling, or rather whispering Pop,—a Blow on the Ear; ironically meant to express a sudden and unwelcome Whisper. [wús'tur pèop] (very common), an unexpected blow, a sudden blow.

Whittle, 108, 204, 278 [wút'l], a flannel petticoat. It is now the name in common use for the long flannel petticoat, made to open down the front, which is worn by babies until they are 'shortened,' or, as is said in W. S., 'tucked up.'

A Whitwitch, 440, a white Witch, a Conjuror;—A good Witch, that does no Mischief unless it be in picking the Pockets of those who are no Conjurors, by pretending to discover the Rogueries of others. [weetwùch] (very common). There are many still thriving, and in large practice.

Whorting,—'*out a Whorting,*' l. 91—i. e. out in the Woods, &c. to search for and gather Whorts or Whortle-berries. [huur'teen]. The *w* in this word is quite gone—I doubt if it ever was sounded. Prof. Skeat says the *w* is not sounded in Surrey. Cf. *Hurtmoor*, near Godalming.

Whot, 275, hot. Halliwell says *whot* is still in use. Cf. *Whatnozed*.

The Why for Ay, 236, a sufficient Compensation, or valuable Exchange of One-thing for another.—As in P. 50, ‘Thou wouldst kiss the A— of G. H. to ha’en’ (i. e. to have him); but thou hast not the Why for Ay, i. e. not a sufficient Fortune to answer his. [waay vur aay] (very common).

Wimbing, Winnowing Corn. [wúm’een]. To winnow is always to *wúm* or *wuom*; there is no *b* sound. Hence *wim-sheet*, the large sheet used in *winnowing*.

Wi? the same. See note 2, p. 44.

Witherly, 220, Wilful, contrary,—a Witherly Chat: Item, wilfully; with main Force and Violence. (Obsolete.) Spelt *wetherly* in the text.

Wone tether, 312 [wan taedh’ur], one another (always so).

Wother, 307, either (still used in Devon).

Wothering, otherwise, else (rare in Devon).

Wotherway, 275, otherwise (rare in Devon).

Woundy, 351 [wuw’ndēe], wildly, excessively (obsolete). This is one of those expletive adverbs, without much meaning, which have their day and are forgotten. *Awful* or *awfully* would just now be the colloquial equivalent. *Woundy*, however, seems to have lasted at least 200 years, from Jonson’s time. See note 16, p. 81.

Wraxled, 217 [vraak’slud], wrestled. It should be noted that to *wrestle* being an intransitive verb, the past inflection is pronounced fully *ud* (see W. S. Gram., p. 50); also that words spelt *wr* are most commonly pronounced *vr*, as *vrite*, *wrong*, *vright*. Nathan Hogg spells these words with *v*.

Wraxling, Wrestling. [vraks’leen, vraa’sleen, vrau’sleen]. See *Wraxled*.

Wutt, 11 [wuut], wilt (emphatic).

Y

Yellow Beels, 406, or **Yellow Boys**, Guineas. (Obsolete.) Probably *Yellow Bills*, as we might now say *Yellow Vics* for sovereigns. At the date at which these dialogues were first written the coinage would mostly bear the image of William III. Beels meant also *bills* or *notes*. In those days there were guinea notes. A five-pound note is to-day a *five-pound bill*. Bill is still pronounced *bee’ül*.

To Yappee, when spoken of a Dog, signifies to yelp.—See *Yeppey*. [yap’ēe] (very common). A spaniel or terrier is said to *yap’ēe* when he utters his sharp bark on disturbing his game.

The Prompt. Parv. has ‘Wappyñ, or baffyn as howndys (or snokyn) —wappon, or berkyn.’

‘Wappynge, of howndys, whan þey folow here pray, or that they wolde harme to.’

Forby gives ‘Wappet, a yelping cur; and yap.’

Dr. Caius gives '*wappe*' in the same sense.

To *wappee* is just as common as to *yappee* in the dialect. Both words imply the shrill bark of a small dog. A *hound* is never now said to *yappee* or *wappee*, but to *speak* or *give tongue*.

Yeaveling, 166, 200, 223, 314, the Evening. [*yai·vleen*] (obsolescent). For change of *n* into *l*, compare *chimley* for *chimney*.

Yeavy, 43, Wet and Moist.—a Sax. *Ea*, aqua (?). [*yai·vëe*] (very common). This word describes the condition of condensed damp on walls or stone floors just after a thaw. At such times the walls are said to *ai·vëe*. The *y* in *yai·vëe* is obsolescent.

Yemors, 224 [*yaem·urz*], embers. When a wood fire has burnt down there are always plenty of hot embers underneath, even though to all appearance the fire is quite out. By stirring these a considerable heat is readily obtained—hence the allusion in the text, '*spudlee out the yemors.*' Nothing was known of *coal fires* in Thomasin's days around Exmoor.

Yeoanna Lock, 152, 211. See note 2, p. 42.

To Yeppey, 261, to make a chirping Noise like Chicken or Birds;—also used negatively to denote the Voice of a Person that can't be distinctly heard: As in P. 52, '*thou art so hoarse that thou canst scarce yeppey.*' [*yep·ëe*]. This word is precisely the same as *yappee* (q. v.), but in N. Dev. it is often pronounced closer, *yep·ëe*.

Yerring, 41, 310, 501, Yelling, Noisy. [*yuur·een*] (very common).

Yess, 44, 89, 102, 295, Podex, in plain English mine A—. [*yes*] (the *y* is obsolescent). See note, l. 44.

Prompt. Parv. gives '*Ars, or arce, aars. Anus, culus, podex.*'

*'If sheepe or thy lambe fall a wrigling with taile,
Go by and by search it, whiles helpe may preuaile:
That barberlie handled I dare thee assure,
Cast dust in his arse, thou hast finisht thy cure.'*

Tusser, '*Maies husbandrie*,' 51, st. 4, ed. E. D. S.

In the dialect this word is of course in daily use as above, but it is also used to express the back part of anything, as '*Put thicke up 'pon the arse o' the wagon.*'

Yewmors, Embers, hot Ashes: The same Word is also used for Humours. [*yùe·murz, sometimes*]. See *Yemors*.

Yeo, 210, an Ewe Sheep. [*yoa·*] (always so pronounced).

Yheat-stool, 54 [*yee·üt·stèol*]. In every large old chimney-corner is to be found on either side a short stool or bench, which is of course the warmest seat—this is probably the *heat stool*. This explanation is borne out in l. 160. In the first edition this word was spelt *he-at-stool*. It is possible that the word may express what is now known as the *brandis*, an iron tripod for supporting a pot or pan over a wood fire.

In the Prompt. Parv. this word is '*Brandeledede, branlet, branlede, or treuet = Tripes.*'

Halliwell gives the word as *brandreth*, but gives no authority.

'Tak grene ȝerdīs of esche, and lay thame over a brandethe.'

MS. Lincoln Med. f. 283.

Yoe, 213. See Yeo.

Z

Zar. See *Sar*.

Zart! 624 [zaart!], a quasi oath, —*d's heart*! (very common). Not to be confounded with *soft*, also spelt *zart* in the text.

Zart-and-vair, 54 [zaart or saart-n-vae'ür] soft and fair (more commonly *saart-n-vae'ür*), i. e. soft-witted, idiotic. The whole epithet is quite incongruous and unmeaning as used in the text, but quite in keeping with the spirit of the dialect—to apply any kind of adjective to any object in sight, and to make the whole into an epithet. This is not peculiar to any district, for recently I heard a *cad* in the London streets call out in an abusive tone to another—'You're a nice old cup o' tea.'

Zæwl or *Zowl*, a Plough to cast up Furrows. [zoo'ül]. This word, though in daily use, and indeed the only common name for a plough throughout Devon and W. Somerset, and although it has certainly come down to us from Saxon times, is scarcely found in mediæval authors. In the dialect *plough* (arare) is used as a verb only. As a noun, *plough* means team of horses. I heard a farmer (Oct. 1879) say of two strayed horses in a field, 'Who's *plough's* this here, then?' The word *sull* appears constantly in local advertisements, and we have many kinds, as the old *nanny-zool*, *two-vore-zool*, *combing-zool*, *double-zool*, *tatie-zool*, and others, all of them various kinds of *ploughs*.

'Gif eaz ne kurue, ne þe spade ne dulue, ne þe suluh ne erede, hwo kepte ham uorte holden?'—'Ancren Riwe,' p. 384, ed. Cam. Soc.

Zeck, 2, sick.

Zed, 536 [u-zaed], a said, withstood, gain-said, take *no*! for an answer.

Zeert, 37 [zee'ürt], sight. This pronunciation is now rare—generally *zait* only is heard. The same applies to *cock-leert*, *vore-reert*, &c.

Zenneert or *Zinneert*, 163, 194, Sev'night. [zaen'ait] (obsolescent). Spelt *zennet*, l. 163.

Zet, 37, 119, 226, 228 [zít], set. The same sound as *sit*, 167. Both verbs are conjugated alike—p. tense, *zawt*; pp. *u-zawt*. See W. S. G., p. 48. See note, l. 228.

Zewnteen or *Zæwnteen*, Seventeen. (Obsolete; present form, *zab'mteen*.)

'Should *Zem*, 9, for 'I should seem,' it seems, or so the Report goes:—As in P. 24, 'Should *zem* thou wert sick,' &c. i. e. it was so reported.—I *Sem*, an old word, for I see, I perceive. [zúm]. This is the common word for *consider*, *think*, *reckon*. *Aay zúm t-l kawm tûe u skad*, 'I think it will come to a scad,' i. e. there will be a shower.

The *Zess*, 32, 70, 87, 240, 284, the Sheaves regularly piled and stowed in a Barn in like Manner as a Corn rick or Mow is without

doors; but the Devonshire Word *Zess*, always means the Pile of Sheaves within the Barn. [zaes, zes]. The regular term, still used as here defined. The part of the barn where the *zess* is placed is called *the pool* [peo'l]. Halliwell is wrong in defining it as a compartment of a barn.

Zidle mouth, 51, the Mouth awry, or more extended on One Side than the other. [zuy'dl muwdh or maewf] (very common epithet).

Zlat, 101 [slaat], a blow. See *Slat*. This word is one of those corrected in the Glossary. It is in very common use. See W. S. Gram., p. 65.

Zlotter, 184 [zlaut'ur], a mixture for medicinal purposes, implying rather a semi-fluid, such as a soft poultice, or a mixture of the brimstone and treacle kind (still in use). This word and the next are not to be confounded with *slutter*. See Caucheries.

Zlottering, 53 [zlaut'ureen], physicking, given to taking medicine, or doctoring. This quite agrees with the character ascribed by Thomasin to Wilmot throughout the dialogues (rather rare, but still in use).

Zoo, 110, as 'To let the Kee go Zoo,' i. e. let the Cows go dry. [zèò, zoa'] (very common). Prof. Skeat says this is a real Celtic word. Cornish, *sych*; Welsh, *sych*; Irish, *siuc*; Latin, *siccus*. Halliwell gives this as *assue*, but without authority.

Zowerswopped, 40, 501 (quasi Sowre sapped,) ill natured, crabbed. [zaaw'ur zaap'ud] (very common). This word implies a nature so thoroughly crabbed that the very *sap* or marrow is sour. Spelt *zower-zapped* and *zower-zop'd* in the text.

Zwir thy Torn, 112, Quhir, or whirl round thy Spinning Wheel with speed; let thy Diligence be proclaimed by its Zwirring, or quhirring Noise. [zwuur dhi tuurn] (very common). See note, l. 112.

Zwop, 324 (a Sax. Swapa, ruina,) the noise made by the sudden Fall of any Thing; as 'He fell down, zwop!'—In the Exmoor Courtship, P. 78, it expresses the sudden snatching of a smacking Kiss. [Spelt *swop* in the text.]

Zwop, 98, 100, 517 [zwaup], a whack, a whop, blow with or without a stick or other instrument.

The Prompt. Parv. has 'Swap, or stroke, *Ictus*.' 'Sweype, or swape, or strok, *Alapa*.'

F I N I S .



II.

WESTMORELAND.

A BRAN NEW WARK.

EDITED BY THE

REV. PROFESSOR SKEAT, M.A.

INTRODUCTION.

THE following piece is carefully reprinted from the original edition, printed at Kendal in 1785. This edition is described in the Bibliographical List, published by the E. D. S., at p. 104; which see. I may add that I have discovered another copy of the work amongst the books given by Dr. Whewell to the library of Trinity College, Cambridge; this is not quite the same edition, being a reprint of the former one, as appears from internal evidence. The date has been cut off in the binding, but it was printed in *London*. For the purpose of the present reprint, I applied to the authorities at King's College, London, and was much gratified by their kindness in lending me their copy. Whilst carefully following this copy throughout, I have also collated the proof-sheets with the copy in the Trinity library, and have noted all the variations of any interest.

The author of the present curious tract was the Rev. Wm. Hutton, Rector of Beetham in Westmoreland from Sept. 1762¹ till his death in August, 1811, and the head of a very ancient family seated at Overthwaite in that parish; see Burn and Nicolson's *Hist. of Westmoreland and Cumberland*, i. 219. The present vicar is our author's namesake and grandson. The word *Worfat*, as we learn from the Prologue, is a corruption of Overthwaite.

Unlike many specimens of (so-called) provincial talk, this piece does not appear to have been written to sell; so that the author was not endeavouring, as is often the case, to put together a quantity of trash (often very incorrect as specimens of dialect) in order to raise a laugh and catch a penny. The difference in tone from the ordinary

¹ The author himself, writing at 'Yuletide, 1784,' says he has 'tented his flock' for 'aboon *twenty-four* years'; see l. 20. The explanation is, that he was already curate of Beetham in 1760.

run of such productions is most striking. It breathes the language of genuine Christian love, and shews that the author was a man of kindly feeling and excellent sense. It is rightly styled 'A Plain Address,'¹ and is well calculated to promote that kindly feeling amongst neighbours which the author had so much at heart. It will commend itself, to the reader who possesses a kindred spirit, as 'a gem of purest ray serene.'

Strictly speaking, the language is not dialectal, but literary English; yet it contains so large a number of dialectal words as to make it well worthy of being reprinted for the Society.

The peculiarities of the original have been preserved. One of these, for example, is the use of a note of interrogation in place of one of admiration.

The notes at the bottom of the text (except that to l. 60) are the author's own. The short glossary which immediately follows the text is also the author's. The Appendix, containing various readings, a few notes, and a rather fuller glossary, is added by myself.

WALTER W. SKEAT.

¹ On a fly-leaf at the beginning is printed a second title, containing only the words—

A PLAIN ADDRESS,
WRITTEN IN THE
PROVINCIAL DIALECT,
OF THE
BARONY OF KENDAL.

Beneath this is written, in the King's College copy, "fifty only printed," in the author's own handwriting. On the back of this leaf he has also written—"Master Henry Wilson—For the sake of your Father, Wm. de Worfat sends you this small Present. When you are grown a Man, judge of Me with Candour, & smile upon my Wark? It has its faults, but I say with Montesquieu; 'the ill grounded objections of many spring from their own heads, not from what I have written.' Wm. de Worfat, Sept. 12th, 1785."

A
BRAN NEW WARK,

BY WILLIAM DE WORFAT,

CONTAINING

A true Calendar of his Thoughts

CONCERNING GOOD NEBBERHOOD.

Naw first printed fra his M.S. for the use of the hamlet of

WOODLAND.



Diligens appetitus aliquando negligit verba cultiora nec curat quid bene sonet, sed
quid indicet atque intimet quod ostendere intendit. *St. Aust.*

KENDAL:

Printed by W. PENNINGTON. 1785.

THE PROLOGUE

BY WILLIAM DE WORFAT,* CLERK ;

Shewing his awn estate, and then addressed to sic north-country folks, as may be flown into the autlands, or sped thro' these realms in divers occupations, and wha in length of time, and with good leeving, may hev amaaast forgotten their mother tongue.†

GOD be with ye ! I regard with the tenderest affection every mother's barn o' ye, fra the heeghest to the lawest ; I equally respect the gentleman that treads in black snod pumps, and the clown that rattles oor the paavement in cakered cloggs ; because each hes a race to run, a saaul to save, and may he prosper ! The person that 5 addresses himself to ye, is placed by providence amang woods and scarrs, oorun with brocks and founarts, otters and weezels. Ye waat it is the height of aur fun to beat the bushes and hunt thro' the scrogs ; what can excel the chaace of a wild cat ? or naaked in summer to splash in the *Eu*, and dive like a porpoise ? different 10 spots‡ have their different pleasures, eigh and difficulties tea. We laugh at a wedding, and cry at a berring ; a christning brings a feast ;

* *Alias Orfat, alias Overthwaite.*

† Several words which occur in these pages mark the different sources from which the English language is derived, at the same time they shew the mutability to which it is subject, confirming the observation of *Horace*.

*Multa renascentur quæ jam cecidere ; cadentque
Quæ nunc sunt in honore vocabula ; si volet usus
Quem penes arbitrium est, & jus, & norma loquendi.*

‡ *Spot*, upon the spot, in the plural also *places*.

on the sabbath we say aur prayers, and the rest of the week ya day marrows another. What I mean to give ye, gentlemen, mun be
 15 delivered in hamely manner, in clauted terms, net that my reading, sic as it is, was gitten in a summer's heat, as said auld *Ascham*, nor I trust will be weshed away with a christmas snaw, for my books hev been conn'd early and late ; but inkhorn words, to be honest, we knaw lile about ; in this hamlet, they wad net edify. 'Tis the pride
 20 of my heart to tell ye, that for aboon twenty four years I hev duly tented the flock of my allotment, naa prawling wolf, naa cunning fox iver escap'd my eye, naa sad dog iver glanc'd on the virgin of the dale without my giving an alarm. Pleased with rural simplicity, aaiming to hev a good conscience, I am meeterly content. My
 25 humble situation indeed may check ivery sprauting thought, but then my duty to my parishioners is mare strangely enforced, "and my attention kept in by necessity, is mare sharpened towards concerns which end net with my life."* Every place hes its advantage and its disadvantage ; heigh leeving and extravagance heve net fund
 30 their way yet into *Arnside*, and *Worjat* is a deserted village ; what then, naa hard fac'd bumbalif comes within my fald-yeat, fidling and revelry disturb net my hause, except when the waits gang their raund : Then to be sure the *Yule* clog blazes on the hearth, then the lads of my family thump the flure to the tune of *Ald Roger*. The
 35 barns of the nebber-raw merrily carrol the story of the *Cherry Tree*† with other godly *Ballads* ; ‡ and lasses fidge their parts ; naw *Jumping Joan*,¹ naw *Queen of Hearts*. Fine times but seldom seen ; o
 38 the rest of the year, they mend and darn, knit and spin, bauk and

* This is the sentiment of a minister of one of the islands of the *Hebrides*.

† One of our carrols has a story of *Joseph* and *Mary's* going into a garden, when the virgin desired *Joseph* to pluck her a cherry, telling him she was with child. This is very ridiculous, yet in all ages people have entertained themselves with rude conceits on this subject. In a chamber of *Shelbrea* priory, *Sussex*, there is now remaining some paintings of animals bearing testimony to the birth of Christ. From the beak of a cock in the act of crowing, is a label with these words, *Christus natus est*, next a duck from whose beak issues another, *quando quando*, from a raven in *hac nocte*, a cow has *ubi ubi*, and a lamb seems to bleat out *Bethlam*. Such is the production of monkish leisure.

‡ In an old translation the song of *Solomon* is called the ballad of ballads.

¹ Names of old country dances.

bleech ; they hev mucking and threshing, ploughing, peating, maw-ing, haying, shearing. Haw lile knaws ya part of the ward haw 40 tother leeves.¹

Ye good christians, that like swallows and cuckoos, love to change to mare sunny hawghs, and naw feed on richer pickings, turn yer thoughts for a minute to the shaws, the crofts and intacks of the north, to the strea theek'd cottages which gave ye birth? 45 think of them, then strike your breasts, and thank your God, thank him twice, nay thrice, for weel I wat ye ken the poverty of aur dales ; sic saunds as these ye sauked in upon yer mother's laps, ye lisp'd and prattled on yer father's knee : But hah ! wha is this that fancy marks, shooting dawn the braw of *Stavely*, and laaking on the 50 banks of *Windermere* ? the water nymphs popple up thro' the surface of the deep, and hail his future fortune.

Most learned and venerable prelate,

Excuse my provincial dialect ? I only annex such words to my ideas as we and our fathers have used for ages past. When I reflect 55 on the number of *men*² which the north country produced, some of whom³ even assisted in translating the bible and in composing our liturgy, I am not ashamed of it ; I know them by their lingua, I 58

¹ About fifty years ago, my worthy predecessor, not indeed a saint, but worth a hundred saints of the middle ages, with twenty marks per year, brought up a large family decently, and gave to two of his sons a college education. About that time a living in *Cumberland* was no better ; the vicar had 5*l.* per year, a goose grass, a whitle gate, and a harden sark.

These revenues however are greater than that of *Micah' Levite*, see *Judges* xvii, who had ten shekels of silver a suit of apparel, and his victuals.

² Amongst these the northern apostle *Barnard Gilpin*, stands first in the list, then follow a number of eminent persons, *Airy, Smith, Crakenthrop, Chambers, Barwick*, the bishops *Carleton, Pearson, Fleming, Barlow, Gibson, next Mills, Seed, Shaw, Fothergill, Lancelot Addison, Peter Collinson, &c.*

Roger Askam, speaking of Dr. *Medcalf*, master of *St. John's* college, *Cambridge*, about 1533, says he found that college spending two hundred marks per year income, he left it spending a thousand marks and more. Speaking of the donors, he says all these givers were almost northern men. Some men thought that Dr. *Medcalf* was partial to northern men, but sure I am that northern men were partial in doing good, and giving more lands to the furtherance of learning than any other country men in those days did.

³ *Rydley* the martyr, born in *Northumberland*, *Aglionby* and *Grindal* of *Cumberland*, *Sands* of *Hawkshead*.

trace them to have gone out from us. They did not conceal their
60 *aras*, they cou'd not their *foces*.¹ But see! another form peers
forward, he holds the gospel in his right hand, a crucible in his left.
Once the play-fellow of my childhood, excuse my language? thro'
Woodland we communicate all our ideas in cast off terms, yet terms
which monarchs formerly deign'd to use, and which were yours and
65 mine, when we rambled together o'er the head of *Heversham*, or
angled in the brook of *Beetha*. Reverend champions of our holy
faith, defend it from every public, every insidious enemy? Do ye
inform the great and affluent? proselyte them from the vanities of
the world to the knowledge and love of the saviour? but permit me,
70 whilst I grovel amongst these knots and barrows, to instruct my
people by every honest mean, which may enlighten vulgar com-
prehension. 'Tis my wish by slow degrees to reduce the savage
tempers of the Saxon lineage, to calm their passions, and humanise
74 their hearts.

Yule Tide, 1784.

W. DE WOLFAT.

¹ *Sic*; for *focos*.—W. W. S.

THE
PLAIN ADDRESS.

HAW strangely the mind of man flackers and flounces? It skims 75
 oor earth, air, fire and water; is nivver at rest, ner nivver will
 be whilst the *ward standeth*. I Cor. viii. 13. Sometimes it is butter-
 flee mad; sometimes teers itsel with measuring the tail of a fiery
 comet. There's naa sort of parlish feats it will net attempt. Two
 hundred years sen somebody thought of harnessing a flock of wild 80
 geese for a trip to the moon. They nivver cou'd du it. A good
 bishop was cock-sure that in fifty summers, it wad be as common to
 co for my wings, as it is naw for my boots: We quite beat these ald
 dons at invention; aur fathers knew some at, we know mickle maar.
 'Tother day I was inform'd, that an unshot codfish hes maar raans in 85
 its belly than thare be people on the face of the earth, and that a
 mite er a maggot will run as fast as a race-horse. These discoveries,
 my good brethren, er ta fine for my addle paate; I will neither
 venture my neck, ner strain my wits. What is it to us, shoud thare
 really be four millions of taad-poles in a single drop of vinegar? god 90
 hes wisely hidden them fra aur seet. I grant it, that ya drop o
 alligar may be an ocean to sic tiny inhabitan[t]s, but when yan comes
 a shoar, 'twill be time enough to study his shap. We believe in god,
let us magnifie his works, which men er sure *they behold*. His works,
 varily, er net stinted; see them in the lile tomtit? the chitterwren? 95
 leak at them in the great eagle, the ostrich, the condor?¹ ye heve

¹ A large American bird in the woods of *Potomack*, fierce and formidable, with a body as large as a sheep, and its wings measure 12 feet from tip to tip.

97 heard of elephants, and whales ; what huge lumps of bane and girsle,
 of fat and blubber ! deary me ! let net these creatures surprise ye ?
 should a kraken¹ welter up the sands, and fill the gap between
 100 *Arnside-point*, and *Meethop-cragg*, ye mud weel be astonished. But,
 what am I talking about ? such marvelous things indeed shew the
 vastness of creation, and they tickle the ear of curiosity ; they
 dunnet edify mitch. It is a blessed truth that the mind cannot
 continue lang in a bree,² when teered with ballooning, it therefore
 105 descends to maar useful subjects. Star-gazing is a pleasure, but to
 leak to yans feet is maar necessary. *Tully*, a sensible fellow, said
 that we come into the ward to stare about us, to admire this and
 that and tother ; a seet of folks think soa still, yet God seems to
 design us for better business. *We er called by faith in Christ Jesus*
 110 *to good works*, and a promise of ETERNAL LIFE is made to us, if we
 du aur best humble endeavours. Aur God is good, is merciful thro'
 o generations, and ta assist us, hes laid dawn two great commands.
 Ye knaw 'em bath, my dear brethren, and he that *loves God with all*
his heart with all his soul, with all his mind, will sartenly love his
 115 brother also. If we gang wrang here, we er lost for ivver.

THOU SHALT LOVE THY NEIGHBOUR AS THYSELF.

Math. xix, 19.

I write this in capital letters, and wish it to be engraven on aur
 hearts. It is a teata conny verse indeed, yet things mun widely
 120 alter before it be duly obsarved. At present there er in ivvery neak
 ta manny mischief-makers, busy-bodies. . What ! love my neighbour³

¹ The kraken is an enormous sea animal of a crablike form, found near the coast of *Norway*. Its back only has appeared to be of a mile, or a mile and a half surface, with several points or horns growing out of it, as high as the masts of a middle sized vessel. *Mr Guthrie* says, he would not mention this animal could there be the least doubt of its existence. There is no fixing the limit of bulk encreasing by longevity : perhaps no man has yet seen the greatest whale in being. Serpents encrease their size the longer they live. The one which stopped the Roman army in *Africa*, was 120 feet long. 'Tis very credible, for there are now serpents in that country as large ; some have been seen to swallow an ox or buffalo whole, others will take the water and roll o'er the deck of a ship lying at anchor.

² Strong agitation.

³ The wretch I am speaking of, never thinks he has grist enough at his mill.

as mysell! will a griping covetous hunx believe this to be gospel? 122
 nay, nay, says he, rubbing his elbow, emess its enough naw a days
 to pay ivvery man [h]is awn. Charity begins at haame. True my
 friend, but let me raund it in thy ears, charity shoud reach to the 125
 Hottentots; thy guts heve nivver yearned with compassion, nor hes
 tau *followed on*, as *Hosea* says, to love thy fellow creatures. A
 covetous man trapes to th' kirk-garth on a sunday morning, he meets
 them that he wants to see, and it saves another journey; then he
 mappen enters the Lord's hause, doffs his hat, claps it before his 130
 face, and squats dawn in a form. I wish that mammon is net next
 his heart, I wish that christians wad, during the sarvice, be serious
 and devout, net come to kirk with a moon belief,¹ with unsettled
 thoughts, but to pray and praise God as they ought. The jews hed a
 rule to run to the synagogue, but to walk slowly back; I wish that 135
 when folks git haame, they wad turn oor their bibles.² Bibles and testa-
 ments were formerly seen on the scone or lang-settle end; they may
 naw be oftener met with on a seaty shelf cover'd with dust, or mause-
 itten; wad there was a leaf turn'd dawn, whare a feal ex'd *Wha is*
my neighbour! But again, I heve net done with kirk business, I 140
 mean the spiritual business which shoud thare employ weel disposed
 christians. Hes naane of ye seen a young thing, giggling and laugh-
 ing at a firley farley? she quite forgot what the clark was saying,
Lord have mercy upon us! dizend fra head to foot, she coud think
 of nought but her bran new bonnet. Her sawcy een were ticing 145
 fools, whilst the parson was converting sinners. Can ye think that
 her virginity was "donn'd with the helmet of faith."³ It is bad
 nebbourhood,⁴ when a body is not suffered to say his prayers 148

¹ Archbishop *Laud's* expression.

² Let me beg of parents to make their children and servants read the scriptures at home. "The scriptures are the two paps of the church from which we suck the sincere milk of the word, and one pap is not more like another than these two for substance." *Leigh's Crit. Sacra.*

³ A line in *Fairfax's Tasso*.

⁴ "He that dwelleth in a city where there is a synagogue and prayeth not there with the congregation, this is he that is called a bad neighbour," *Rabbi Maim.* On which words Mr. Thomdike observes, "well may he be called a bad neighbour, who will not lend his neighbour's prayers the strength of his own."

quietly.¹ Yan ell be winking and prating, another glopping and
 150 makking remarks, a third nodding his head in an easy slome.
 Waa betide thee! and yet let me net wish ought ats bad!
 haw fast hes ald nick² sic folk in his clutches? Good friends,
 these er sad duings, efeclings. My saal is vexed within me.
³Hoa fellow thare! sweetly sleepest ta naw, when the devil
 155 rocks thy cradle. Pardon my zeal, mappen it may rise heegh
 in a good cause. In some churches the sidesmen gang about
 with staaves, and give ivvery sleeper⁴ a good nope. Is this reet
 or wrang? our Lord, when he fand his disciples fast and saund
 asleep, only just chided them, *What! cannot ye watch one hour?*
 160 Let us bear with yan another's infirmities, let us persuade net
 drive men into Christ's faald? Oh! may that heat[h]en monster,
 persecution, that curst dodt cow⁵ never maar plague this country!
 they say she yance hed horns and put furiously, God be praised
 her bulls beal and bellow naa langer. Good father of mercies! that
 165 folks can co themsells christians efter frying and roasting, and bray-
 ing to mummy ought of their awn likeness; and apreia for what?
 for difference of opinion, or for net allowing that a thing can be in

¹ I love to hear myself say, *The Lord be with you*, and my neighbours answer, *And with thy spirit*.

² From Nikur an idol worshipp'd by the northern nations.

³ Mr. *Farmer*, vicar of *Heversham*, spoke thus from the pulpit, to a sleeper, I am told with success. Another time observing, as he took his text, some company talking in Lord *Berkshire's* pew, he stopp'd, they star'd, Gentlefolks, says he, when you have done, I'll begin. Another time the people being in a hurry to get their hats ready for going out, Stay, cry'd he, and take the peace of God with ye. One sunday, observing some ladies laughing and talking in Lord *Berkshire's* pew in the lesson which was taken out of proverbs, when he came to the following verse he looked passionately at the ladies and thus delivered himself as if to them solely, *as a jewel in a swine's snout so is a fair woman without discretion*, ladies! flyer and laugh at that if you please. At *Kendal* church, hearing some officers talking aloud, he stopped, When you have done I'll go on.

⁴ Bishop *Babbington* says, "if the fervent spirit of the preacher should break and tear his inwards in pieces, all is one, men snort and sleep, and go on in a damnable dulness of mind." Really, my Lord, if this would not waken them, I do not know what would.

⁵ *Chillingworth* speaks of this curst cow; he was her great enemy, and baited her purely.

two places at yance,¹ that black is white. God gave us our senses to feel with, to handle with, and when St. *John* was faithless, aur Saviour appealed to them. Zleads! he nivver played hocus pocus,² 170 or offered to drag men like dogs with a raap.³ What can be said of juggling, and gulling, and knocking on the head? Cruel bad nebbourhood! Coud Beelzebub and his comrades put on flesh and dwell amang us, they wad play just sic tricks.

Turn we to maar pleasing views, to meditate on the prince of 175 peace, the meek, the mild, the loving Jesus. Hear him! hear him! *love one another as I have loved you*; again and again he repeats it, which made St. *Paul* observe to the *Thessalonians*, *as touching brotherly love, ye need not that I write unto you, for ye yourselves are taught of God to love one another*. I infer from hence that 180 Christ will love good nebbours, his father will love them, and the Holy Ghost will dwell in their hearts. The jews expected that Christ wad heve appeared a helter-skelter⁴ Heroe, treading on the necks of kings and emperors. Mad thoughts! he meant naa harm to the persons or property of men: net to crawl oor the poor creatures 185

This made *Averroes* resolve, *quando quidem christiani adorant quod comedunt*, [sic], *sit anima mea cum philosophis*? When Mrs *Ann Askew* the martyr was examined, they asked her whether a mouse eating the host received God or not? she smiled but returned no answer. *Gardiner* in one place says "a mouse cannot devour God; but soon after the wily prelate thinks that Christ's body may as well dwell in a mouse as it did in *Judas*." To what difficulties learned men are driven in support of falsehood! Old *Bale* after quoting a page of such nonsense, concludes, "mark this gear for your lern-ying, oyled divynes!" Archbishop *Tillotson* declared of transubstantiation "that it was a millstone hung about the neck of popery, which would sink it at the last. It will, says he, make the very pillars of St. *Peter's* crack."

² Supposed to mean, *hoc est corpus*.

³ I shall here briefly remark, that our Lord's legacy to us was this, *my peace I give unto you, my peace I leave with you*. "He therefore who fosters within his breast, malice, envy, or an unforgiving temper, is in a very dangerous state with respect to salvation. Heaven can have no relish without love. To meet there, if possible, a person we have not lov'd, and from the bottom of our hearts forgiven, would distract and make us miserable. Let then love work by faith, that is, be the fruit of our faith, and not mingle mangle righteousness." This is the language of a martyr for the truth.

⁴ *Hileriter* [sic] and *celeriter*, merrily and quickly. I might have used a better epithet, *harem skarem*, rash, mad, who turns all into confusion.

186 of his hand, net to destroy them, but their vices : ner did he design
to govern any kingdom on earth. He com to break in pieces the
ald kingdom of darkness. This he did, my beloved, without wrath
or anger, without the murdering instruments of war, for he conquer'd
190 by suffering. His patience and his mercy were as infinite as his
love, or else he hed *bluwn away his enemies with the blast of the
breath of his displeasure*.¹ God drawnd the praud children of
Adam ; the rainbow is a witness ; *Raven-scout*² and *Beetham-fell* to
this day shew us the marks of the flead. Folks, it seems were grown
195 cock-a-hoop ; (but the heegh leaks of the meety were sean brought
laa) they were swept away like the peatstacks in *Faulshaw*, which
yesterday tawer'd aloft with their black heads, but to day er scal'd³
oor the marsh of *Milnthrop*. Good Lord ! when I consider thy
kindness shewn to the jews by neet and by day ; thy sending them
200 *Moses* and *Joshua*, and prophet efter prophet, I am lost in devout
amazement ; astonished at their conduct. Thou didst bring them up
as thy awn family, thou declarest it in *Esaiah* i. 2. and yet they
rebelled against thee. They judged net the fatherless, nor did the
cause of the widow come before 'em. Their great men were pelsy
205 and praud ; their women were haughty, with stretched aut necks
and wanton een, mincing as they walked and tinkling with their
feet. Their nation were continually provoking God to anger ; and
yet his lang suffering and his mercy endured for many ages. At
209 length he even sent his son amang them, yet they refused salvation

¹ Who would imagine that christians in aftertime should be able to copy this fine figure so literally. In 1655 the Portuguese governor of *Solvaterra* tied a *Castilian* officer to a great gun and blew him away. In 1683, the Algerines blew away a French consul from a mortarpiece. In the *East Indies* this is the common punishment of desertion. In 1760 there were twenty four persons blown away. 2. Sam. xxii. 16. "*at the blast of the breath of his nostrils*." The blast of a furnace, the blasting of rocks give fine ideas.

² I dont know the derivation of this word, which is a common name for a great precipice. Our waterfall in the river is called, sometimes the *force*, sometimes the *scout*. The steep ridges of rocks on *Beetham-fell*, are called *scouts*, the fell beneath them *Underlaade*, that is *Underload*. *Raven-scout* is the highest point of a ridge of rocks in *Holme-park*, adjoining to *Farleton-knot*, frequented by ravens, and sometimes visited by eagles on their passage.

³ Scaled, scattered, levelled, so to scale muck, or molehills, to scale hay, and yet this word puzzled most of the editors of *Shakespeare*.

fra his son, and compleated their awn destruction. Methinks I hear 210
 ye, my beloved, cry aut, fie upon! fie upon this worthless people!
 God sent his son to save us tea, wha at that time were daws'd¹ in
 sin and concupiscence. What mun we du? I'll tell ye, Craw net
 oor the obstinate jew; but in your day repent, believe, and love;
 yea love yan another without dissimulation. 215

I haasten havever to ask a mast important question. Suppose
 this efternean you were to see *Jeremiah*, *Obadiah*, or *Jona*, standing
 on *Windscar*, with a voice that wad carry a league. Ye hear him
 co, *repent! repent!* or the earth will swallow ye up: The saund is
 redoubled fra crag to crag; *Whitbarrow* and *Brigsteer* echoe back 220
repent! My brethren, if ye believed the sarmon of the prophet,
 haw wad ye tremble in your skins? Soa when the Israelites saw
 the leetnings and the burning Maunt, they were saare freetned, but
 fear is net repentance, and the danger gaane, the testrels leev'd and
 lusted as usual, were bad nebbours, and in their good days hated o 225
 the ward but their sells. Ye think mayhap, that ye wad surely listen
 to a prophet; naa sie thing; net to an angel fra heaven, if ye will
 net mind the *still small voice of the gospel*. Your minister begs of
 ye to consider the four last things, death and judgment, heaven and
 hell; as the tree falls, soa mun it lig. Life is short, and he wad 230
 rouse ye fra the lethargy of inconsideration. He wad heve ye pre-
 pared to meet your God.

Suppose then again, and we have a reet to suppose it, that this
 varra neet the trumpet shoud wakken ye? in the twinkling of an
 eye ye jump aut o bed; th' hause totters, th' earth trembles, th' 235
 element opens, th' dead er rising, angels fleeing in the air, devils
 roaring, bad nebbours screaming, shrieking, swooning. Your families
 cling about ye, help! help! Ye leak up, heaven shines breet as
 chrystal; ye leak dawn, hell flames blue, a tarn of melted brim-
 stone.² On the reet hand ye behold your judge, terrible in majesty, 240

¹ "Dause thyself in jordan seven times, the leprosy of sin will not off."

Archdeacon *Nicholson* of *Brecon*.

² "Oh! said a divine of our church, that a body might take a peep into
 hell!" This scene is introduced with a like design to urge faith, love and
 charity, as preservatives against falling into that horrid chasm.

241 in justice : The register of your faats lies before him.¹ O Jesu, ye
 wad say, let us alaan yaw wee bit ! we er net ready with aur
 accaunts ; we hev net lov'd nor fear'd thee as we ought ; we hev net
 lov'd aur nebbours. Hah ! he wad answer, the prayer of your dis-
 245 traction is vain ; the hour of mercy is past, long have I been your
 mediator and intercessor with my father. The universe now requires
 the rigour of my justice. My dearly beloved ! haw feel ye about
 your breasts ? This is serious talk ; it maks me whither ; may it
 bring forth in you quiet and peaceable leeving ! Ye hev nought to
 250 lig white² on, but your awn frowardness.³ Think naa warse of me
 for giving you Godly advise ! Eternal life,⁴ who can help repeating

¹ That elegant writer bishop *Hall* thus describes the giving of the law. "Here was nothing but a majestical terror in the eyes, in the ears of the Israelites ; the lightning darted in their eyes, the thunders roaring in their ears, the trumpet of God drowning the thunderclaps, the voice of God out-speaking the trumpet of the angel : The cloud enwrapping, the smoke ascending, the fire flaming, the mount trembling. If such were the proclamation of God's statutes, what shall the sessions be ?"

² *White*. This local word signifying the mark at which an arrow is shot, may not the sense here, *nought to blame*, be borrowed from thence.

³ Frequent thoughts on the shortness of temporal life and the day of judgment are excellent means to call our ways to remembrance to set the Lord still in our sight. Bishop *Babbington* makes the following comparison, but it is the fancy of an elder writer. "Life is like a tree, at the root whereof two lile mice lig gnawing and nibbling without mercy ; a black an and a white an. The white mouse nibbles o the lang day, the black an o the neet ; who can tell how far these two mice have eaten through him ?" His lordship I must confess, does not edify me very much.

⁴ I am better pleased with the speech of one of the courtiers of *Ina* King of *Northumberland*, concerning *Paulinus* who was then preaching the gospel in that little kingdom. "We may, says he, addressing himself to the king, aptly compare man's state unto this little robinredbreast that is now in this cold weather, here in the warm room, chirping and singing merrily, and as long as she shall remain here, we shall see and understand how she doth ; but anon, when she shall be flown hence, abroad into the wide world ; and shall be forced to feel the bitter storms of hard winter, we shall not know what will become of her ; so likewise we see how men fare, as long as they live among us, but after they be dead neither we nor our religion have any knowledge what becomes of them ; wherefore I do think it wisdom to give ear unto this man, who seemeth to shew us not only what shall become of us but also how we may obtain everlasting life."

This is a translation by the great *Camden* in his remains, from venerable *Beda*.

it, is the prize, and remember! that you receive it by Christ Jesus 252
 your Lord; wrestle then for it with an active faith; leeve fouzanably
 and kindheartedly for a year and a day; and then if your conscience
 rue, co me a lear, and divide my tithes amang ye! The truths which 255
 my divine mester gave to the ward, I deliver unto you, a truth with
 which St. *John* when near a hundred years ald, spreading aut his
 arms, thus accosted those about him, *Little children, love yan another.*

Without this binding quality o aur righteousness is as filthy
 rags;¹ dea I say filthly? yea the Holy Spirit in abhorrence of sic sort 260
 of conduct, seems to mak use of words purposely braade.

My fellow christians, I heve oready noticed pride and earnestness,
 as unfriendly to social life; 'tis lang² o these that good nebbour-
 hood fails in part, but thare er other enemies which I munnet pass
 over sleightly.

265

¹ See *Esaiah* 6. 5. *Qu.* Might not the translator have conveyed to us the
 sense of the sacred writer by a more delicate expression? I have often asked
 myself this, on reading other parts of scripture; I know with *Chaucer* that

“Braade words er good, whilst good folks use them
 They er only bad, when bad folks abuse them,”

And again

“Christ spake himself full braade in holy writ,
 And weel I wat, no villainy is it.”

This is no way satisfactory but at length I find myself extremely obliged to
 the learned bishop *Lowth*, for his excellent comment on this subject, which I
 beg leave in this place to lie before my readers. “The Hebrew religion
 regulated the common conduct of social life. Many of those images which the
 Hebrew poets made use of with the greatest effect on their cotemporaries, are
 lost on us, and even appear low and sordid. The Jewish laws have for one of
 their chief objects the discrimination of things pure from those that are impure.
 Amongst the various subjects of purification, we find certain diseases and bodily
 infirmities, and indeed habits of body, which cannot by any human means be
 conquered or removed, wherefore it is not to be wondered at, that the sacred
 poets call in the use of those images in their descriptions of the most important
 objects, when they either lay open the corruption and depravity of human
 nature, or arraign the wickedness of the times in which they liv'd, or when of
 the virgin daughter of *Sion*, stripped and naked they lament the forlorn and
 abject condition. Figures these, which if considered only in themselves, seem
 odious and disgusting, but which, when they are traced to their sacred source,
 will appear to be full of energy and dignity.”

² The great *Bacon* has this expression in his life of *Henry* 7th, “It was not
 long of himself,” (through his own fault.) Who could have thought of finding
 his in *Bacon*?

PART THE SECOND.



- 266 **A** Plain address needs naa apology; it begins with simplicity,
 and ends with common sense; it is delivered in the language
 of aur hills and dales, a language which sarves o the purposes of life.
 Ivvery trumpet is good which gives a fixed steady saund, *there er*
 270 *manny kinds of voices in the world, and none without signification.*
 There er manny huge big books also, but a great book is a great
 evil, wearing aut the eyes and tearing the patience. We er somat
 maar merciful hawivver to aur fellow creatures than formerly, and
 yet net tender enough. Times hev thar vices as weel as diseases.
 275 Inhumanity lessens, and before the end I expect perfect good
 nebbourhood; my reason is, folks dunnet burn their barns to please
 that cruel devil *Molock*; ner drag their prisoners at chariot wheels;
 ner throw them to be worried by lions and tigers; ner feed their
 eels with em. Religion or wrang conceptions about it dunnet make
 280 folks leeve in caves and holes of the rocks by their sells, to shun
 mankind; ner git upon pillars and posts twenty feet heegh, and
 thare spend their days;¹ they forgat that *love is the fulfilling of the*
law. God be thank'd that christians naw knaw better, practise
 better. Barbarous customs are banish'd the land. Formerly great
 285 people kept monkeys to grin, and mock at human actions, kings hed
 fools tu, to shew the weakness of aur nature; these fools durst speak

Christians dunnet naw wrangle fra morning to neet in porches and piazzas
 about and about the truth, striving wha can speak maast against it, that is wha
 can be the cleverest blockhead. They dunnet form a meety contest about what
 nivver can be determined, haw many millions of angels may sit upon a pin point.
 They dunnet twist and twine probabilities and intentions in a manner either to
 hulf their consciences, or quibble with their God. *See the provincial letters.*

truth when noblemen wad net. Drolls and buffoons were kept to 287
mak mirth at feasts, they leev'd by their wits and laugh'd at their
mesters. These merriments and greater fun still was reserved for
Christmas holidays.¹ Envy net, my parishioners, the pleasures of 290
your forefathers, ner say the present times er warse ; it is a mistak,
and I am only sorry that with their coarser diversions, English
hospitality hes taan its flight. To rougher manners were joined
great virtues, great vices : May we copy efter the first, and banish
the latter from aur gentler bosoms ; May we think fra morning to 295
neet of this conny pithy sentence, this motto which I wish was
written aloft at ivvery loanin end of the parish,

Love thy neighbour as thyself !

What yet hinders ! I will tell ye freely. The enemies to aur
peace spring fra aur passions, and corrupt inclinations. Knavery 300
flees directly in the face of this great command ; adultery robs us,
eigh, within aur varra bedstocks ; fornication is a lawless liberty
takken in a dark corner, and drunkenness commonly ends in frandish
riot, or in madness. Wee'l handle 'em singly. Wha is a knave ?
He that gaas creeping in the dark, nimming and nifting whativver he 305
can lig his fists on. Bold villainy I meddle net with, it tells its
awn story ; but shifting of mere-stanes and bending young trees
wrang side oth hedge, to make Jammy's twig become Roger's tree
this is a sad and an evil coveting of aur nebbour's property, and
desarves hanging. If seven aut of ten in a lile tawnship were to be 310
dishonest, what mud become of tother three ? why ! they wad be
cheated aut of hause and harbour : There wad be an end of nebbour-
hood trully. Weel may I say, good father in heaven forgive a
manny poor wretches, wha hardly knaw what they du. Knavery is
the sin of poverty, it deals in dirty wark, and nivver ends in ought 315
thats good. Whativver is gitten is like a swallow's nest made up
of a little dirt and a few streaws, which in a frosty winter drop dawn

¹ *Baldwin le Petteure* had his name and held his land in *Suffolk* per saltum sufflum and pettum, for dancing pout-puffing, and doing that before the King of *England* in christmas holidays, which the word pet signifyeth in French. *Camden's remains*.

of themselves.¹ To rob a roost, to break an orchard, to filch pows, withys, spelks, to cut dawn saplings, and carry off rotten ring-fences
 320 er reckoned leeny tricks, but fitter for heathen *Sparta*,² than the barony of *Kendal*. And yet methinks, my brethren, he that sell'd me 'tother day a barren cow and a calf, for a calver, outbang'd 'em o for wardly cunning. But what said the good bishop *Latimer*, "Thou that doest this; do it if thou lust, shalt go to the devil, and be
 325 hang'd on a fiery gallows world without end." The holy martyr shall tell the story at the bottom of the page,³ whilst I gang on with another of my awn.

THE PARSON'S TALE.

Last saturday sennet,⁴ about seun in the evening, (twas lownd
 330 and fraaze hard) the stars twinkled and the setting moon cast gigantic shadows. I was stalking hameward across *Blackwater-mosses*, and whistling as I tramp'd for want of thought, when a noise struck my ear, like the crumpling of frosty murgeon; it made me stop short, and I thought I saw a strange form before me: It
 335 vanished behind a windraw; and again thare was nought in view but dreary dykes, and dusky ling. An awful silence reigned around; this was sean brokken by a skirling hullet; sure nivver did hullet, herrensue, or miredrum, mak sic a noise before. Your minister was fretned, the hairs of his head stood an end, his blead storkened, and
 340 the haggard creature moving slawly nearer, the mirkness of the neet

¹ This simile I have from Archdeacon *Nicholson* of *Brecon*. I believe he had it from *St. Chrysostom*.

² At *Sparta* robbing made a part of the edncation of their youth.

³ "They go (says his lordship in one of his sermons) and take a calf of another cow and put it to a barren cow, and so come to the market and sell the barren cow six or eight shillings dearer than they should have done else. The man which bought the cow, cometh home, hath many children, and no more cattle than this cow, and thinketh he shall have some milk for 'em, but he findeth it a barren cow, and the poor man is deceived. The other is a jolly fellow, and called one that can shift; sic folks can speak soa finely that a man would think butter would scant melt in their mouths." Excellent old man! I love thy simplicity, thy boldness in the worst of times, thy apostolic zeal. May I be found like thee at the last, a good, if not a great man!

⁴ A week or seven nights, so fortnight, fourteen nights.

shew'd her as big again as she was. Scarcely did a rag cover her 341
naakedness. She stoup'd and drop'd a poak and thus began with a
whining tone. Deary me ! deary me ! forgive me good Sir, but
this yance, I'll steal naa maar. This seck is elding to keep us fra
starving. My mother, my brothers and sisters, and my ald neam, 345
O deary me ! Whilst she spaake these words, her knocking knees,
and diddering teeth melted my heart. Ah ! said I to mysell, did
net king *David*, when hungred, eat the holy bread ? Did net Jesus
and his disciples crop the ears of their nebbour's corn ! Hunger will
break through stane-walls. Necessity will disturb the laws of moral 350
obligation ; get thee haame my lass, and sin naa maar. I judge thee
net, oready thy conscience condemns thee. The Almeety bless ye,
Sir, said she, aur wooning is net aboon a dozen stanethraws fra this
spot, preia gang with me, and see with your awn een, aur pitiful
plight. 355

We nivver feel greater pleasure than when we relieve distress,
than when we du good ; *it is more blessed to give than to receive* :
Nivvertheless, sometimes thare is danger and temptation even in the
godly deed. Thares a thin partition 'tween good and evil ; this
minute I feel mysell a saint, the next a dannet. Whence spring 360
aur thoughts ? what first mover starts them fra their secret lodge-
ment ? mickle talk hes thare been about it ; I confess I cannot
fathom this ; somat like a flint with gunpowder, strikes fire and
springs a mine, when we the least expect it. We passed by the
rocking stane oor a bed of scars, they were slippy, and she stottered, 365
she fell : I had liked to have tumbled a top of her snocksnares. I
believe it was pity maade me lift her or help to lift her up. Be it
what it wad, up as she raaise, a star fell directly athwart, and shining
full in her face, discovered to me the finest flesh and blead that ivver
was cumpassed by mortal man. My pulse bet quick, my quicker 370
thoughts ran oor aur father's prayer, and I fund mysel safe. Luckily
we were come near the hovel ; the girl unsneck'd the raddle heck.
Wretched scene ! the hovel or hut belang'd to a widow in a peck of
troubles. Tis just aleun weeks sen I buried her husband. Poor
Geordie ! he was a graadly bain fellow, and wrought his sell to 375
death ; What coud a body dea maar for his family ? She followed

377 his coffin with neen barns crying efter her, and a tenth sawking at
 her breast. When she saw me she wept; I wept ano.¹ She sat on
 a three legg'd steal, and a dim coal smook'd within the rim of a
 380 brandreth, oor which a seaty rattencreak hung dangling fra a black
 randletree. The walls were plaister'd with dirt, and a stee, with
 hardly a rung, was rear'd into a loft. Araund the woman her lile
 ans sprawl'd on the hearth, some, whiting speals, some, snottering
 and crying, and ya ruddy cheek'd lad threw on a bullen to make a
 385 loww, for its mother to find her loup. By this sweal I beheld this
 family's poverty. She was confaunded; I was motionless; at length,
Maggy,² said I, *Maggy*, I am thy teacher, thy friend, tak comfort!
 God's aboon still, tho' the ward awns the net; he will net forsake
 thee. *Afflictions and troubles dunnet spring fra the dust*; they er
 390 sent for wise purposes, and it is aur part to bow dawn like the
 bulrush, to be humble and resigned, tho' mebbly, with saar troubled
 hearts. It is said, *The trust of the evil-doer shall be an attercob-*
web,³ *but a perfect man God will net cast away*. Trust thau then,
Maggy, in the great Father of mercies, and wait for better days!
 395 *the poor will net oways be forgotten*. But let me ask thee; Haw
 durst ta wink at thy children, whilst they laad theirsells with
 burthens of iniquity? Thinks ta, God sees these bad tricks and will
 398 net punish? Whether they were peats or flushcocks, or prickins

¹ *Ano* means *and all*, that is *also*.

² After writing this interview, I was much pleased with reading a letter from Mr *Bradford*, the martyr, in Queen *Mary's* reign, to a person under affliction. "Ah my joy! if you were a market sheep, you shoud go in more fat and grassy pasture. If you were for the fair, you shoud be stall-fed and want no weal; but because you are of God's own occupying, therefore you must pasture on the bare common.¹ Happy and twice happy are you, my dear sister, that God now haleth you whither you would not, that you may come where you would. Suffer a little and be still!"

³ Which says the excellent old *Sanderson*, the light touch of a besom striketh away in a moment. *Esaiah* xiv, in the finest ode extant, is made to say by the translator, concerning *Babylon*, *I will sweep it with the besom of destruction, saith the Lord of Hosts*.

¹ A professor of *Aberdeen* about 1660, gives a caution, lest teachers in driving their flocks to green meadows, should overdrive them. Not a bad hint to some at this day.

that thy daughter hes stown, whether of lile or greater value, she is guilty of filching; she fand 'em before they were lost. My brethren! 400 ye knaw the woman and her circumstances; I speak to ye overseers, relieve the poor, and tempt them net to be dishonest, by scanty relief. A piece of a mouldy jannock, a dubbler of haver-meal, and a pan-full of cockle-broth were o that these poor wretches hed to keep life and soul together. Let us dea what mense¹ we can, and prevent 405 what evil. This is true charity, and they that think otherwise, seaner or later, a hagworm will bite fra the clint, a slaaworm will wrap raund the ancles.

I come, secondly, to that warst 'sort of theft, that cruel unnebourly action ADULTERY: Next to murther this is the blackest faat; 410 yet they tell us, 'tis common amang great folks, stars and garters gentlemen! or rether gentle-sinners! ye that er careful for nought but proggng for belly-timber,² I beg you to love your awn wives, otherwise as sure as a gun, dawn yee'l gang to the bottomless pit: Thare ye may ring, knock, and hallow, thro' eternity for a drop of 415 cald water, but naa servant waits to give it. *Abram* will be deaf, and your hell-fire thirst mun be bidden. Instead of goulden cups, ye wad then be fain to lap it aut of your neaves. The rich man in the gospel "laid it on thick only in purple and fine linen, in vanity and pomp."³ We read net that he was an adulterer. Yan of this 420 stamp, soa far fra loving the man of his next dure, studies ivvery nick of time to rob him, to give him a feastering waund. He destroys the peace of a family, confaunds kinship, and when he hes hed his will of a silly woman, leaves her to blush at her guilt, and to bear the resentment of an injured bedfellow. Thus is adultery the 425 greatest sin against good nebbourhood, under the cope of heaven; yan excepted, and indeed a body mud nearly as weel lose his life, as his peace of mind.

I come next to simple WHOREDOM, God hes said, this he will likewise judge. Young tykes oft buy pleasure dearly. Solomon 430

¹ *Mense* from *mensa*, a table, alluding to the tables in the old monasteries spread for the poor.

² Sir *Thomas More* uses this expression.

³ Dr. *Stanhope*.

431 gives 'em good advice, but they turn the deaf ear.¹ Oh ! that folks
 wad but lust when and whare they mud lust lawfully.² Oh ! that
 they wad leak forward to what in the end follows unhallowed
 liberties. Unchastity in man or woman teems with misfortunes,
 435 with wretchedness ; he suffers often in his health, maastly in his
 pocket, oways in his mind ; restless and unsettled, he is lead (*sic*) like
 the ox to the slaughter. Nor is her case mickle better ; with the
 loss of her maidenhead, she loses all that is valuable, her honour,
 her dignity, her purity, her innocence, nay that awful respect which
 440 even bad men pay to virtue and chastity. The good ald word *head*
 means oft a place of command, naw dea fond silly girls give up their
 only place of command for a minute's gratification ; maar the pity.
 We hev another word of special import, *maiden-hood*. *Hood* is hod
 or possession, a hod-fast ; and may o the virgins in the nation defend
 445 it lustily [!] They that yield to the perfidious enemy, sean find their
 ruin, er shun (*sic*) by the modest, despised by the villainous. Efter ya
 slip 'tis difficult to fetch back lost reputation, and her barn tea,
 bears the reproach of the cruel : But if she fo a second time, her
 ways then lead dawn to misery, to rottenness, to death, to everlasting
 450 destruction. Haw lile is this thought on ? when youth giving up
 the reins to appetite, rush headlong into unlawful pleasure.³

¹ A king of *France* more averse to fornication than *Solomon*, once travelled into the Holy-Land, and was long absent ; but a good bishop shall tell the story. "Upon this he sickened, and the physicians did agree it was for the want of a woman, and did consult with the bishops of the country, who did conclude, that because of the distance of his wife, he should take a wench. This good king hearing their conclusion, would not assent thereunto, but said, he had rather be sick even unto death, than break his espousals." In 1303, the rector of *Orton, Cumberland*, gave a bond of ten marks to bishop *Hulton*, to be forfeited whenever it should appear he was guilty of incontinency.

² See *Deuteronomy* xii, 20, 21.

³ Mispent youth leaves a spent body to old age. This was the true saying of Dr *Boyce*, a translator of our bible. It is said of him that he could read Hebrew at five years of age.

Old *William Perkins* says, *St. Paul* offers six reasons for fleeing fornication ; one of them thus, "*The body is the temple of the Holy Gost, these swine make it the devil's sty.*" How strangely do old divines paint the devil. The translator of *Luther* to the *Gallatians* thinks the white devil that forceth men to spiritual sins, is far more dangerous than the black devil which maketh them to commit fleshly ones.

Tis time here to bring forward the boon companion of the dis- 452
honest and the wanton, the DRUNKARD. He, poor fellow is never
quiet till ligging in a hedge-bottom. He gaas net to kirk or market
without stopping at the ale-house. 'Tis a burning sham to see him 455
like a mafflin bezzling dawn strang liquors. His blead whirls fast
thro' his veins, he becomes a rattlehorn, leaks wild, loses his limbs,
his senses: A drunken man shoud be teed like a wild beast, till his
reason returns. He can be naa nebbour at dow, that tipples and
swattles, and idles fra morning to neet. Naa maar can the *idleman* 460
be; he leeves on the industry of other folks; maunders about fra
hause to hause, haking and slinging, with a tongue as glib as a bell-
clapper: What has been said at *Robert's* flees to *Josee's* next minute;
the story spreads but naa body knaws whare it began. Tittle tattle
begits scandal; scandal, like a cur-dog, bites into' th heels; besides 465
it is weel knawn, "*Thro' idleness of the hands the house droppeth.*"
Eccles. x, 18. Weel indeed may it du soa when the awner will net
fend for his sell. Honesty and industry maks a poor man thrive.
Its a pleasing seet when fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters
work the day lang, without quarrelling.¹ When sarvents er bund 470
by love and duty, as mitch as by wage, when naa brawling or threap-
ing is heard, naa noise but the goodnatur'd laugh, the thoughtless
whistle, and the sang of *hearts at ease*. Lang may my parishoners
leeve merry and wise, share and share alike, helping each other at
ivvery lift. We cannot du without this; he is the praudest of men 475
that thinks otherwise. If aur nebbour's stot or stirk break into' th
fog, let us net pinfald it, rather settle the matter with soft words.

¹ Bishop *Latimer* in one of his sermons, gives the following little history of his own family. "My father had no lands of his own, only he had a farm of three or four pounds a year at the uttermost, and hereupon he tilled so much as kept half a dozen men. He had walks for one hundred sheep, and my mother milked thirty kine. He was able and did find the king a harness, with himself and his horse. I can remember that I buckled his harness when he went to *Blackheath-field*, (1497) He kept me to school, or else I had not been able to preach before the king's majesty now. He married my sisters with twenty nobles a piece, so that he brought them up with godliness. He kept hospitality for his poor neighbours, and some alms he gave to the poor, and all this he did of the same farm."

Let us give and tak. If a man rails, bid God bless him, and soa
heap coals on his head. My brethren, ye mappen dea net understand
 480 this verse of St. *Paul's*, which he repeats from King *Solomon*, in the
Proverbs. He does not mean by heaping coals to consume a nebbour,
 but either that by thy doing thy duty to him, thou exposest the
 man to the will of God, who will be thy avenger, as Mr. *Locke*
 explains the passage; or as Dr. *Doddridge* and others think, thou
 485 wilt mak him ashamed of his awn conduct, and he will in future
 seek thy friendship. Hawivver, to be reet in case of quarrelling,¹
 oways obey the laws of God; as for human laws, keep aut of the
 brears, to save your breeches. Whareivver ye woon, whativver is
 your station, be eminent in goodness. Good peaceable believers er
 490 scarce, they er, in the words of bishop *Hall*, "like stakes in a hedge,
 pull them up, all the rest are but loose and rotten sticks easily
 removed."

And naw I hev nearly done, I commit my parishoners to God's
 providence, to his mercy. Remember, the all just, the all seeing
 495 judge of human actions is not like a whamp, which when yance it
 hes stung, cannot sting again;² nor will Christ clock like a hen, he
 hes shewed mercy, judgment will come. Ye are the flock allotted to
 498 me in my humble walk of life; I will love ye *whilst the breath is in*

¹ Wharting begits quarrels, in families, in nations; quarrels often end in
 war, in rebellion; either is dreadful, the last particularly. Once an archbishop
 of St. *Andrews* was taken by his enemies, and directly hung upon a live thorn,
 upon which a wit wrote the following verse,

*Vive diu felix arbor, semperque : vireto
 Frondibus, ut nobis talia poma feras?*

The cruel wit wishes that the tree may long flourish to bear such glorious
 fruit. Such indeed [is] the fruit of rebellion!

This puts me in mind of an enigma in *Pope's Pastorals*, which is blamed by
 a critic as a puerile conceit.

Say, *Daphnis*, say in what glad soil appears
 A wondrous tree, that sacred monarchs bears?

This is far fetched, because *Charles 2d.* only stood within the shade of the
 boughs. *Qu.* Had not *Pope* thought of the above latin verse?

² These allusions, odd as they appear, are taken out of the sermons of
 eminent divines, who wrote in the sixteenth century.

me,¹ and may I, oh may I be able at the last day thus to address my Lord and Master ! These are they that thou gavest me, they are 500 washed, they are sanctified, they have believed, have trusted in thee, and hope for thy salvation. *Amen, Amen.*

¹ *Job* xxvii, 3. Dr. *Cheney* bishop of *Gloucester* writing against the reformers, has this curious piece of advice. "In reading the scriptures, be you like a snail ; for when he feels a hard thing against his horns, he pulls them in : So in points of controversy, do ye pull in your horns." The advice may be good but not as the doctor meant it.

THE
EPILOQUE

BY WILLIAM DE WOLFAT.

My pen is net yet worn to the stump ; my candle is net burnt to the socket ; but hasten, *William*, hasten, if thou hes ought to add.

505 To love my nebbour was and is my subject. I hev oreaddy shew'd manny lets and bars in the way ; manny hev escaped my memory. Mistakken zeal hes murdered its thaunsands of christians ; ignorance its ten thaunsands : Nay, sometimes we destroy aur friends unwittingly. several good folks hev been buried alive, besides *Duns Scotus*, poor

510 fellow, he dash'd aut his brains against his coffin-lid. I beg of ye, nivver carry aut a nebbour to the grave before he be stark dead, a body may be in bad fettle in a fit, a trance and yet whick at heart. There was another great faat formerly in this country, ald women were in constant fear of net leeving aut their time. A bow'd back,

515 a blear eye, or a comical leak, was sure to mak an ald woman pass for a witch, and then she was as sure to be condemn'd and burnt. Sham to the times ! to the men of the times, that coud judge so poorly ! In 1697, twenty miserable creatures were condemn'd in *Scotland* on this supposition, and five really suffered death. Dea I

520 mention *Scotland* ! for hundreds of years what debateable wark, what rhaading, and watching, and warding ! what dakering and cruel nebbourhood along the *Border Service*. Need I mention the red and white roses of *England*. Was net the religion of Christ oways forgitten, as weel as his legacy ? *My peace I give unto you,*

525 *my peace I leave with you*. But on, *William*, on ! These fewds and evils hev lang ceas'd fra troubling us. I start them up in memory, to shew aur happier condition. My beloved, we were a happy people indeed till lately, till grown cobby : aur family fell to wrangling, to blaws, till the west gable-end shrinking dawn, hed like

530 to hev laid aur hause in ruins. Ye brethren that er gaan aut fra us,

God speed ye weel; ye will net sean git sic another built up; before 531
 that can be, father will be set against the son, and the son against
 the father; eigh and millions of your barns, yet unborn, will only
 break forth from the womb, to welter in their bleed. Heigh ho!
 heigh ho! struggle we must with a bad ward, before we can enter 535
 the joy of aur Lord. Wha! wha! wha is my nebbour? he of the
 next dure? it may, er may net be. My relation? seldom. Is it the
 rich and powerful? they hev the means, if they hev the inclination.
 Is it the parsons? they hev leet and knowledge, may they hev feeling
 hearts. The story of the good Samaritan sets the priest in a bad 540
 view: He was blind to distress; he passed by on the other side.
 We er come then at last to the single body, that may be esteemed
 aur nebbour, he that is merciful. The compassionate, the loving, the
 humane, the charitable, these answer the end of the commandment.
 And we know that concerning these qualities, enquiry will be maad 545
 at the last day. Beloved, I hev nearly done, my address to you is
 an address to my awn conscience; I am a sarvent of Jesus Christ,
 tho' net in soa gaudy a livery as some of my school-fellows, wha hev
 jump'd into better places.¹ I envy 'em net; my sarvice is amaast
 oor, and I think I cannot du maar good elsewhere. I love ye, my 550
 parishioners, and nought can maak a miff amang us, but ya thing.
 When the devil wants mischief, he rolls a tithe-egg before us, we
 stoup to tak it up, and tea often it bursts in aur hands. Tithe
 maintenance is a tryal to bath ye and me; it trys my patience, and
 your honesty. Ye consider net that the dues ye grudge me, er part 555
 of your estates; that for seven hundred years together, your estates
 hev been bought and heired with them. Let us then shak fist and
 neaf in love and friendship; if I hev the white, ye hev the yolk.
 And naw, fare ye well, ivvery saal of ye! when my flesh is consum'd,
 and my banes dry as kiln-sticks, may *Woodland* continue to flourish 560
 in o virtue and godliness of leeving. This is the prayer of your
 vicar for *Arnside* and *Storth*, for *Hale* and *Whasset*, for *Beetham*
 and *Haverbrack*, for *Farlton*, for *Oakbank*, and *Worfat*.

¹ Since writing the above, my school-follow, formerly of *Hincaster*, is made
 an Irish bishop. I therefore should have named him in the prologue.

565 **T**He author begs, that those gentlemen who have forgot their mother tongue, will remember that

About means about, *amang* among, *amaast* almost, *ano* also, *awn* own.

Bane bone, *braw* brow, *bath* both.

Co call, *craw* crow.

570 *Dawn* down, *dunnet* do not, *du* or *dea* do.

Eigh yes, *efter* after, *er* are.

Fra from.

Gitten gotten, *git* get, *ga* or *gang* go, *gaan* gone.

Haw how, *hes* has, *hev* have.

575 *Ivver* ever.

Lang long.

Mare more, *mebby* may be, *mud* might.

Naa no, *naw* now, *nivver* never, *net* not, *ner* nor.

O of, *o* all.

580 *Preia* pray you.

Raund round, *reet* right, *raw* row.

Saund sound, *saal* soul, *sic* such.

Ta to, *ta* thou, *tea* too.

Waund wound, *wark* work, *warse* worse, *wad* would.

585 *Varra* very.

Ya or *yan* one, *yance* once.

The derivation of the old words from the Saxon roots, is left to the knowledge and ingenuity of the reader.

FINIS.

VARIOUS READINGS.

THE following is a list of the variations in what I think is plainly the later edition, viz. the one printed in London.

In the heading, for *estate* the London edition has *esteate*; for *with*, it has *wi'*; and for *amaast*, *ameast*.

2. muther's. 4. peavement; cakert. 7. foemerts. 9. neaked. 13. o'th week. 15. heamely. 18. leate. 21. tended; nea [*thrice*]. 26, 27. mear. 28. pleace. 31. nea. 33. harth. 40. o'th ward haw. 43. mear sunney. 48. deales; muther's. 60. *areas* (sic). 63, 66. aur. 76. it is niver. 78. tears. 79. nea. 84, 85. mear. 86. feace. 87. reace-horse. 88. peate. 90. tead-poles. 92. inhabitants; *the t being dropped in the earlier edition*. 97. beane; grisle. 103. mich. 105, 106. mear. 113. beath; bretheren. 120. thear. 121. meakers. P. 12, note 1; and *omitted before* roll. 124. his awn [*for* is awn]; heame. 136. heame. 142. neane. 148. nebberhood. 158. aur. 161. *For* heathen, *both edd. have* heaten. 162. mear. 163. the, *misprinted for* she. 164. nea. P. 14, note 3. stop'd *for* stopp'd; of *omitted in* out of proverbs. 170. appeal'd. 171. reap. 175. mear. 183. Hero. 184. nea. P. 16, note 2. I do not know. 216. heasten; meast. 223. sear. 224. gane; testrils. 227. nea; heven. 231. lithargy. 236. the dead. 243. heve [*1st time*]. 248. makes. 250. nea. 260. yea, *misprinted for* dea. 261. breade. P. 19, note 1. Bread words; full bread; villany; contemporaries. 270. *many*. P. 20, note 1; meast. 292. an I. 293. tean. 305. geas; whatever. P. 21, note 1. *Both edd. wrong; the first has* pont-puffing, *the second* point-puffing (*see note*); signifieth; *Camden's*. 324. shall. 330. freaze. 339. hears. 340. slowly. 342. neakedness. 344. nea. 346. speake. 348. hungered. 351. heame; nea. 354. apreia. 361. lodgment. 367. meade. 368. rease; shined. 370. compassed. 371. mysell. 372. *Here the later ed. correctly has* unsneck'd, *which in the earlier one is misprinted* unsneck. 375. greedly. 376. mear. 391. sear. 396. lead. P. 24, note 2, l. 4. should go. 403. piece of mouldy. 416. sarvant. 449. rottoness. P. 26, note 1, l. 9. espousal; l. 9. prove that [*for* appear]. 459. nea. 470. land (*a misprint*); sarvants. 486. quarreling. 488. seave. P. 28, note 1, l. 5. *virto* (*a misprint*); l. 8. *both edd. omit* is; l. 12. wonderous; note 2. allutions. P. 29, note 1, l. 5. means it. 513. the [*for* this]. 524. forgotton. 537. er it may net be; relations. 545. mead. 547. sarvant.

The most noticeable point about these variations is the systematic substitution of *ea* for *aa*; as in *peavement*, *neaked*, *nea*, *mear*, *peate*, *tead-poles*, *heame*, &c., for *paavement*, *naaked*, *naa*, *maar*, *paate*, *taad-poles*, *haam*. So also, instead of *late*, *place*, *dales*, *face*, *race-horse*, &c., we have *leate*, *pleace*, *deales*, *feace*, *reace-horse*; evidently with the idea of giving a more exact notion of the sounds. It is strange that *grisle* is put in place of *girsle*; not impossibly this is a misprint, as some fresh misprints have crept in, whilst others have been corrected.

NOTES.

10. *Ea* simply means water or river, A.S. *ea*, and is the E. representative of the Lat. *aqua*. Hence *Ea*, *Ea-mont*, *Roth-ay*, *Brath-ay*, and other river-names. In Gloss. B. 1, we find—"Ea, a river along the sands on the sea-shore."

41 (footnote). His 'predecessor' was the Rev. Daniel Wilson. Hence, probably, the reason for his presenting a copy of his book to 'Master Henry Wilson.'

53. The 'venerable prelate' is perhaps the schoolfellow who is alluded to in the footnote to l. 549; see also l. 62, and the note to l. 549.

56 (footnote). "Doctor *Nico. Medcalfe*, that honorable father, was Master of *S. Iohnes* Colledge, when I came thether. . . He found that Colledge spending scarce two hundred markes by the yeare; he left it spending a thousand markes and more. . . And that which is worthy of memorie, all thies giuers [donors to the Colledge] were almost Northrenmen; who being liberallie rewarded in the seruice of their Prince, bestowed it as liberallie for the good of their Contrie. Some men thought therefore, that *D. Medcalfe* was parcial to Northrenmen, but sure I am of this, that Northrenmen were parcial, in doing more good, and gening more landes to ye forderance of learning, than any other contrie men, in those dayes, did."—R. Ascham, *The Scholemaster*, b. ii; ed. Arber, p. 133.

61. By a *crucible* we must surely understand a *crossier*.

81. "The philosophers of king Charles his reign were busy in finding out the art of flying. The famous bishop Wilkins was so confident of success in it, that he says he does not question but in the next age it will be as usual to hear a man call for his wings when he is going a journey, as it is now to call for his boots. The humour so prevailed among the virtuosos of this reign, that they were actually making parties to go up to the moon together, and were more put to it in their thoughts how to meet with accommodations by the way, than how to get thither. . . . The duchess of Newcastle objected to bishop Wilkins the want of baiting-places in the way to his new world; the bishop expressed his surprise that this objection should be made by a lady who had been all her life employed in building castles in the air."—*The Guardian*, no. 112; Monday, July 20, 1713.

127. Hosea, vi. 3. So *follow after* in Prov. xv. 9.

133. "A moon belief;" i. e. fickle, changeable, unsettled.

147 (footnote). I do not find this line. "Her helm the virgin donn'd" occurs in b. i. st. 48. However, the idea is merely taken from Eph. vi. 14—17.

168 (footnote). In the *Select Works* of Bp. Bale, printed by the Parker Society, p. 154, will be found the story of Anne Askew and the mouse. Following it are Bp. Bale's remarks; he says—"Mark this geer for your learning;" and, a little further on, at p. 155, he says—"let these oiled divines dispute among old gossips." William de Worlat puts the two expressions together into one sentence.

169. Surely *St. Thomas* must be meant.

193 (footnote). *Scout* is a mere variant of *shoot*; either applied to a projecting or jutting rock (one that shoots out), or to a waterfall, or shoot of water. "*Scout*, a high rock or large projecting ridge. Sax. *sceótan*, to shoot out;" Brockett's Glossary. But the form of the word is rather Scandinavian than Anglo-Saxon; cf. Icel. *skúta*, to jut out. *Force* is the Icel. *fors*, *foss*, a water-fall.

197. *Scal'd*; allied to Icel. *skilja*, to part, separate, divide, disperse. The remark that "this word puzzled most of the editors of Shakespeare" is one of those which men acquainted with provincial dialects are rather too fond of making, quite forgetting that, but for the editors, they would themselves be greatly puzzled by words which are utterly unknown to speakers of dialects, and yet are very familiar to scholars. In the present instance, for example, the remark is quite uncalled for. There is no passage in Shakespeare where the explanation suggested is of any value whatever. It is, indeed, difficult to imagine what can be meant; but perhaps the allusion is to Cor. i. 1. 95, where the right reading is probably *stale*, i.e. render it stale, tell it over again. See note to l. 250.

240 (footnote). "Oh that a man myghte haue the contemplation of hell!" —Latimer, Seven Sermons before Edward VI., ed. Arber, p. 113.

241 (footnote). The quotation is somewhat abridged from Hall's Contemplations, b. v. contemp. v.

250. Here the author is utterly wrong in every way, both in the word he uses and in his explanation of it. The word is not *white*, but *wite*, and consequently has nothing to do with "the mark at which an arrow is shot." *Wite* is 'blame' simply, from A.S. *wite*, punishment, fine, later used in the sense of blame, as in Chaucer—"And but I do, sirs, lat me han the *wyte*;" Cant. Tales, Group G, l. 953. But a 'white' is the white centre of an archery-butt, as in the Taming of the Shew, v. 2. 186. It is only one of the thousand instances in which men who have no philological knowledge first guess wrongly at an etymology, and then misspell, misapply, or pervert the word they use in order to support the guess. One great difficulty in the study of English dialects has always been this, viz. the eager desire, too often displayed, of corrupting the evidence itself.

250 (footnote 3). The fable here alluded to is a very old one. It occurs in the Legend of Barlam and Josaphat, ed. Horstmann (in his Altenglische Legenden), ll. 459—462, &c.

"Vppon þe rote of þe tre twey mees he seyð
þat hadde al þe rote frete wel uyð;
þat o mous was whit, þat oþer blak was;
Me pinkeþ þis mon was in a wondir cas."

This again is borrowed from the Latin version of the Gesta Romanorum, c. 168, and has been traced to an Eastern source. See the English version of the Gesta, ed. Hertridge, Introd., p. ix.

251 (footnote). The story belongs to the reign, not of *Ina*, but of *Edwin*, king of Northumbria. See Bede, Eccles. Hist. b. ii. c. 13; and the version of it in one of Wordsworth's sonnets. Our author copies it, as he says, from Camden's Remains, ed. 1657, p. 235; but Camden says *Edwin*, correctly.

260 (footnote). Of the two quotations here said to be from Chaucer, the latter is from his Prologue to the Cant. Tales, ll. 741, 742, and runs, correctly, thus:—

“Crist spak himself ful brode in holy writ,
And wel, ye wite, no vilanye is it.”

But the former quotation is plainly nothing but a poor paraphrase of the same two lines, and can hardly (I think) be found in Chaucer himself. In l. 11 of this footnote, the phrase “to *lie* before my readers” is a remarkably awkward instance of bad grammar, as it is capable of a wrong interpretation.

263 (footnote). “To conclude, if this king did no greater matters, it was long of himself; for what he minded, he compassed.”—Bacon, *Life of Hen. VII.*, ed. Lumby, p. 220, l. 13. The author’s remark is a queer one; it is precisely the sort of expression to be found in an early author. *Long of*, followed by a personal pronoun, occurs six times in Shakespeare.

281. Alluding to St. Simeon Stylites, and others who similarly so strangely afflicted themselves. The reference in the footnote is to the Provincial Letters of Pascal, in which he so wittily and skilfully attacked the morality of the Jesuits.

290. The footnote is from Camden’s *Remains*, ed. 1657, p. 135. “So Balwin le Pettour, who had his name, and held his land in Suffolk, *per saltum, sufflum, et pettum sive bumbulum*, for dancing, pout-puffing, and doing that before the king of England in Christmas holy-days, which the word *pet* signifieth in French.” Here ‘pout-puffing’ means pouting and putting out the cheeks, so common an action of the old buffoons. The Latin *sufflum* expresses the same thing. The word is misprinted ‘pout-puffing’ in the Kendal edition, and ‘point-puffing’ in the London one; but I have corrected it. *Pettum* is a made up word from French; the Lat. verb is *pedere*. There is no doubt as to the truth of this strange statement; see my note to P. Plowman, C. xvi. 206; Warton, *Hist. English Poetry*, ed. 1871, iii. 162, note 3.

332. “And whistled as he went, for want of thought.”—Dryden, *Cymon*, 85.

404. Compare P. Plowman, C. x. 92—

“Ther is payn and peny-ale as for a pytaunce ytake,
Colde flessch and cold fyssh, for veneson ybake;
Frydayes and fastyng-daies, a ferthyng-worth of muscles
Were a feste for suche folke, oþer so fele cockes.”

That is, “there [among the poor] bread and penny-a-gallon ale is considered as a good pittance, and cold meat and cold fish is in place of roast venison, and, on Fridays and fasting-days, a farthing’s worth of muscle-fish or as many cockles would be a feast for such people.” Cockles are plentiful in the head of Morecambe bay, at no great distance from Overthwaite.

405 (footnote). This comical etymology of *mense* is, of course, quite wrong. It is a well-known Lowland Scotch word, of which the older form is *mensk*, as in Jamieson. It is derived from O.Icel. *mannr* (usually *maðr*), a man; hence (with the usual vowel-change) Icel. *mennskr*, adj. manlike, *mennskr*, humanity, kindness; and Scotch *mensk*, *mense* (1) dignity (2) good manners, kindness.

431 (footnote). The ‘good bishop’ alluded to in the note is Latimer. The quotation is from the first of his Seven Sermons before king Edward VI., ed.

Arber, p. 35. Latimer probably obtained the story from Fabyan's Chronicles, or some such book. The king was Louis VII. (mis-called by Fabyan Louis VIII.). "Howe be it, that to some persones suche fablys ben full pleasaunt to here, wherefore all suche I remytte [*refer*] vnto the sayd Frenshe Cronycle, & somewhat I shall folowe the auctour Gyraldus, the whiche with other, testyfyen, that Lewys, in his returne towarde Fraunce, waxed syke for the longe forberyng of his wyfe; wherefore by thaduyce of physycions, and also of-bisshoppys [!], he was counceyled to take a wenche, because his wyfe was so farre from hym; but the kynge withstode that counceyll, & sayd that hym had ben leuer to be syke & dye of Goddys honde, than to lyue in spouse-brekyng, & offende his lawes. And so the kyng put hymselfe to the mercy of God & receyued helth shortly after."—Fabyan's Chronicle, ed. Ellis, p. 270.

440. This explanation of *head* is wrong. *Maidenhead* is only another spelling of *maidenhood*; compare *Godhead* with *manhood*. The words are not different, as said in the text, but the same. The explanation of *hood* is also quite wrong. The suffix *-hood* is A.S. *-hād*, meaning office, station, condition, state, &c. In l. 445, I have inserted a note of admiration at the end of the sentence, to shew that *may o* (i. e. may all) expresses a wish; without this hint, the sentence is obscure.

470. The quotation in the footnote is almost *verbatim* from Latimer's "First Sermon" before king Edw. VI. See Latimer's Seven Sermons before Edward VI., ed. Arber, pp. 40, 41.

481. "There can be little doubt that the metaphor is taken from the melting of metals. It is obvious that *thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head* could never have meant *thou shalt destroy him*; because to feed an enemy could in no sense destroy him."—Conybeare and Howson, *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*; note on the passage.

486 (footnote). The reference is, I suppose, to the murder of James Sharp, archbishop of St. Andrews, on Saturday, May 3, 1679, at a spot about three miles from St. Andrews. The quotation below is from Pope's First Pastoral, or *Damon*. The critic who blamed the conceit as 'puerile' was not very far wrong; for this poem was written by Pope at the age of sixteen.

510. "Paulus Jovius relates that Duns Scotus was buried before he was dead, and that it was afterwards found, upon inspection of the grave, that in his misery he had knocked out his brains against his coffin. Another version of the story is, that he was found to have gnawed off the flesh from his arms;" English Cyclopaedia, art. *Duns Scotus*.

549. "Wm. Preston was educated at Heversham School by Thomas Watson, the bishop of Llandaff's father; he was born at Endmoor in the parish of Preston Patrick, near Betham. He was consecrated Bishop of Killala in 1784, and in June, 1788, was translated to Ferns and Leighlin. I possess a copy of the engraved portrait of him, and a very amiable-looking man he is. There is a notice of him in Atkinson's *Worthies of Westmoreland*." The above note was communicated to me by William Jackson, Esq., of Fleatham House, Saint Bees; who has kindly helped me in several points, and to whom I wish to express my thanks.

GLOSSARIAL INDEX.

I VENTURE to call attention to the remarkable facts (1) that our author only explains very easy words in his very brief glossary ; and (2) that, of the harder words, a large number are given in the glossary printed as ‘Gloss. B. 1’ by the E. D. S., which was written by the Rev. John Hutton, and printed for W. Pennington, of Kendal, in 1781. When we consider that the ‘Bran New Wark’ was also written by one of the Hutton family in 1784, and printed for the same W. Pennington, I think we may conclude that our author must have been well acquainted with the glossary above-mentioned. My theory is that he probably himself contributed to that glossary, and thought it unnecessary to explain over again words which had already been explained there. The remarkable coincidences in spelling and vocabulary between the ‘Bran New Wark’ and this glossary are very striking, as will be apparent to any one who will be at the pains to compare the two. Such an odd spelling as *dodt* can hardly have been independently adopted by two authors ; nor is it likely that they would independently write *lay the white on* instead of *lay the wite on*. Compare also the words *bain*, *bang*, *barrow*, *beesom*, *cock-a-hoop* (given under *bobberous* in the Glossary), *brandreth*, *bran-new*, *brock*, *bunnel*, *cakerd*, *clints*, *clogs*, *cobby*, *conny*, *daker*, *dannat*, *didder*, *dubler*, *ea*, *elden*, *fidge*, *frandish*, *haqtorm*, *haiking*, *harermeal*, *hullet*, *jannacks*, *knott*, *leeny*, *lound*, *marrows*, *maunder*, *mense*, *merestone*, *meterly*, *nifle*, *nope*, *prog*, *put*, *ramule-balk* and *racken-crook*, *rungs*, *scarrs*, *sconce*, *scout*, *scroggs*, *skale*, *skirl*, *slench* or *slinch*, *sloum* or *slome*, *snocksuaries*, *snod*, *snotter*, *speals*, *spells*, *ster*, *stirk*, *storken*, *stoter* or *stotter*, *swail*, *swattle*, *teata*, *tent*, *threap*,

tike, ward, whamp, white (to whittle sticks), &c. Some of these words are, of course, common enough; but I think I have at any rate shewn cause why, in interpreting any particular word in the 'Bran New Wark,' the Glossary to the 'Tour to the Caves' should be particularly consulted. The references are to the lines, as numbered.

A

Aaiming, endeavouring, striving, 24.

Abaut, about, 19.

Aboon, above, 20.

Addle, weak (used of intellect), 88.

Aleun, eleven, 374.

Alligar, alegar (= ale eager), ale which has fermented, and is used for vinegar, 92.

Amaast, almost, 549.

Amang, among, 209.

Ano, and all, i. e. also, 378.

Apreia, I pray thee, 166. See **Preia**.

At, to (sign of the infinitive), 459.

Athwart, across, 368.

Ats, that is, 151.

Aur, our, 13.

Autlands, i. e. outlands, foreign parts, *heading, line 2*.

Awn, own, 202.

B

Bain, willing, ready, 375.

Bane, bone, 97.

Bang. See **Outbanged**.

Barn, child, 2.

Barrows, hillocks, tumuli, 70.

"*Barrow*, the side of a rocky hill; or a large heap of stones;" *Glos. B. 1*.

Bath, both, 113.

Bauk, wash, 38. Applied to buck - washing; see *Buck* in *Halliwell*.

Beal, bellow, roar, 164.

Bedstocks, bedsteads, 302.

Belly-timber, food, 413.

Berring, burial, 12.

Besom, a broom, 393 (footnote).

Bet, beat, 370.

Bezzling, swilling, 456.

Bidden, endured, 417.

Blead, blood, 339.

Brandreth, an iron frame over the fire, 380. See *Gloss. B. 1*.

Bran-new, quite new, 145.

Braw, brow of a hill, 50.

Braying, pounding, 165.

Brears, briars, 488.

Bree, strong agitation, 104. (So explained by our author himself.)

Breet, bright, 238.

Brocks, badgers, 7.

Bullen, a stalk of hemp, 384. The same as *bunnel* in *Glos. B. 1*.

Butter-flee, butterfly, 77. Butter-flee-mad, mad after butterflies.

C

Cakered, "bound with iron as are clog-shoes," 4. Brockett gives—"Cawker, an iron plate put upon a clog."

Calver, a cow that is not barren, 322.

Chitterwren, wren (that chitters, i. e. chirps), 95. M.E. *chiteren*, to chirp as a bird.

Clauted, patched (lit. clouted); hence, homely, plain, 15.

Clint, a crevice in a rock, 407. "*Clints*, crevices amongst bare limestone rocks;" *Glos. B. 1.*

Clock, cluck, 496.

Clogs, shoes with wooden soles plated with iron, 4. See *Glos. B. 1.*

Co, call, 83, 165.

Cobby, proud, 528. Also "in good spirits;" *Glos. B. 1.*

Cock-a-hoop, pretentious, vain-glorious, 195. "*Bobberous*, all a cock-a-hoop;" *Glos. B. 1.*

Cockle-broth, broth made of cockles, 404.

Cocksure, exceeding sure, 82.

Condor, condor, 96.

Conn'd, studied, 18.

Conny, pretty, good, excellent, 119, 296. See *Glos. B. 1*; cf. *Sc. canny*.

Craw, crow, 185.

Croft, a field next the dwelling-house, 44.

Crumpling, crumbling with a low crackling noise, 333.

Cumpassed, embraced, 370.

Curst, shrewish, ill-tempered, 162.

D

Dakering, disputing, 521. "*Daker*, a dispute;" *Glos. B. 1.*

Dannet, a worthless fellow, 360. One who *dows not*, i. e. is of no value; like *G. taugenichts*. See **Dow**.

Dawn, down, 50.

Daws'd, dowsed, sunk, 212.

Dea, do, 376. See **Du**.

Dearyme! an interjection, 343.

Diddering, shaking, shivering; hence, chattering (said of teeth), 347.

Dizend, bedizened, decked out, 144. [Hence *E. be-dizen*.]

Dotd, docked, i. e. without horns, 162. This remarkable spelling occurs also in *Glos. B. 1*. See *Dodded* in Atkinson's *Cleveland Glossary*.

Doffs, puts off, 130.

Dons, masters, clever fellows, 84. Used in Cambridge.

Dow, to avail, profit; *at dow* = to be useful to others, 459. Cognate with *G. taugen*.

Du, do, 213, 357. See **Dea**.

Dubblor, a large plate, a plateful, 403.

Dunnet, do not, 103.

Dykes, ditches, 336.

E

Ea, river, 10. See the note.

Een, eyes, 145.

Efeclings, by my faith, 153. A dimin. of *i'fegs*.

Efter, after, 377.

Efternean, afternoon, 217.

Eigh, aye, yes, 11, 302.

Elding, fuel, 344. *This seck is elding* = the contents of this sack is fuel.

Element, sky, 236. So in Essex; and so in Shakespeare.

Emess, by the mass, 123. See *Amess* in Dickinson's Cumb. Glos.

Er, are, 94, 95, 320.

F

Faat, fault, misdeed, 410, 513; *pl.* Faats, 241.

Fald-yeat, foldgate, 31.

Feal, fool, 139.

Fend, provide (for), 468.

Fettle, condition, state of health, 512. Common as far S. as Shropshire; and perhaps farther.

Fidge, perform busily, 36. To *fidge* is to be restless, to be busy about trifles; also "to kick with the feet," as in Glos. B. 1.

Filch, pilfer, 318.

Firley-farley, wonderful thing, bit of nonsense (used in contempt), 143. A reduplication of M.E. *ferly*, a wonder; P. Plowman; B. prol. 6.

Flackers, flits about, beats about, 75.

Flounces, jumps about, 75.

Flushcocks, 398. "*Flushcocks* are 'sieves' growing in damp places on the fells, shorter and flatter than the ordinary 'sieve'; they are cut, dried, stacked, and often used as bedding for horses." —W. Jackson. "*Seeve*, a rush;" Dickinson. The *flushcock* is *Juncus lamprocarpus*; the *sieve* is *Juncus effusus*; Britten.

Fog, aftermath, 477.

Followed on, followed, continued, 127. See Hosea, vi. 3; and Eastwood and Wright's Bible Wordbook.

Fond, silly, 441.

Foumarts, polecats, 7.

Fra, from, 91.

Fraaze, froze, 330.

Frandish, mad, passionate, frenzied, 303.

Freetned, frightened, 223.

G

Gaan, gone, 530; Gaane, 224.

Gaas, goes, 305, 454.

Gang, go, 115.

Giggling, laughing sillily, 142.

Girsle, gristle, 97.

Git, get, 531.

Gitten, gotten, got, 16.

Glopping, staring about, 149.

Graadly, well-meaning, 375. Spelt *greidly* in Glos. B. 1.

Gun; as sure as a gun = certainly, 414.

H

Hagworm, lit. hedge-snake, a viper, 407.

Haking, loitering, 462.

Hallow, halloo, shout, 415.

Hamely, homely, 15.

Harbour, shelter, 312.

Havermeal, oatmeal, 403.

Haw, how, 75.

Haughs, river-side pastures, 43. See *Haugh* in Ferguson's Cumb. Glossary.

Heck, half-door. See **Raddle-heck**.

Helter-skelter, wild, 183. (The suggestion *hilariter-celeriter*, in the note, is a specimen of learned rubbish).

Herrensue, heron, 338.

Hes, has, 85.

Hev, have, 18, 20.

Hocus-pocus, trickery, 170. Unmeaning words used by jugglers; the suggestion (*hoc est corpus*) is ridiculous.

Hod-fast, holdfast, a sure possession, 444.

Hullet, owl, 337.

Hunx, a miser, 122. "*Haspin*, an hunx;" *Glos. B. 1.* "*Hunniel*, an hunx, or covetous person;" *id.*

I

Inkhorn words, literary words, 18.

Intacks, enclosures taken in from a common (*lit. in-takes*), 44.

Iver, ever, 22.

Ivery, every, 25.

J

Jannock, a coarse loaf of oaten bread, 403.

K

Kirk, church, 133.

Kirk-garth, churchyard, 128.

Knots, rocky-peaked hills, 70.

Kraken, a sea-snake, 99.

L

Laa, low, 196.

Laad, load, 396.

Laaking, playing, amusing himself, 50.

Lang o, along of, owing to, 263.

Lang-settle, long seat, 137. A wooden form with a high back; "a bench like a settle;" *Glos. B. 1.*

Leak, look, appearance, 515.

Leak, look, 96.

Lear, liar, 255.

Leeny, clever, smart, 320. "*Leeny*, alert, active;" *Glos. B. 1.*

Leetnings, lightnings, 223.

Leeves, lives, 41.

Leeving, *s.* living, 29.

Lets, hindrances, 506.

Lig, lie, 230.

Lig, lay, 306; **Lig wite on**, lay blame upon, 250. (*Misspelt white*; see the note.)

Ligging, lying, 454.

Lile, little, 19; **Lile aans**, little ones, 383.

Ling, a kind of heather, 336.

Lingua, lingo, 58.

Loanin, lane, 297. (Also *lounin*.)

Loup, a stitch in knitting (*lit. a loop*), 385. See *Glos. B. 2.*

Lownd, still, quiet, calm, 329.

Loww, blaze, light, 385.

M

Mafflin, a stupid fellow, 456.

Mappen (may happen), possibly, 130, 155.

Mare, more, 26, 27.

Marrows, matches, is like, 14.

Maunders, lounges, wanders idly, 461.

Mause-itten, mouse-eaten, 138

Mebby, may be, perhaps, 391.

Meeterly, moderately, tolerably, 24. (From the verb to *mete*.)

Meety, mighty, 195.

Mense, kindness, 405. See the note.

Mere-stanes, boundary - stones, 307. "Cursed, saith the law, is hee that removeth the land-marke. The mislaier of a *mcere-stone* is to blame;" Bacon, Essay 56.

Mickle, much, 84.

Miff, quarrel, 551.

Miredrum, bittern, 338.

Mirkness, darkness, 340.

Moon belief, fickle belief, fickle faith, 133.

Mucking, cleaning muck out of a 'byre' or cowhouse, 39.

Mud, might, 100; would, 311.

Mummy, a soft pounded mass, 166.

Mun, must, 119; must, will, 14; must, shall, 212.

Munnet, must not, 264.

Murgeon, "rubbish-earth cut up and thrown aside in order to get turf," 333; see *Glos. B. 1.*

N

Naa, no, 21, 22.

Naw, now, 36, 37.

Neaf, fist, 558; *pl.* Neaves, 418.

Neak, nook, corner, 120.

Nebber-raw, neighbouring row of houses, 35.

Neen, nine, 377.

Neet, night, 199.

Ner, nor, 76.

Net, not, 15, 19.

Nifting, pilfering, 305. [Perhaps a misprint for *nifling*, which is the spelling in *Glos. B. 1.*] Cf. "*Nip up*, to pilfer, pick up quickly;" Dickinson, *Cumb. Glossary*.

Nimming, purloining, 305.

Nivver, never, 76, 81.

Nope, a rap, 157. "*Nope*, a small blow or stroke," *Glos. B. 1.*

O

O, of, 91.

O, all, 112. And see **Ano**.

Oor, over, 4, 76.

Oorun, over-run, 7.

Oth, of the, 308.

Outbanged, surpassed, 322. "*Bang*, to beat or overcome;" *Glos. B. 1.*

Oways, always, 436.

P

Paate, pate, head, 88.

Parlish, wonderful (lit. perilous), 79.

Peats, pieces of peat, 398. "*Peat*, turf for the fire;" *Glos. B. 1.*

Peck of troubles, i. e. a quantity of them, 373.

Pelsy, perverse, 204. "*Pelsey*, obstinate, cross, mischievous, bad, wicked, evil;" Halliwell.

Pinfald, *v.* impound, 477.

Poak, bag, 342.

Popple up, pop up (through water), 51.

Pows, poles, stout sticks, 318.

Preia, I pray thee, 354. See **Apreia**.

Prickins, 398. "When the thorn-hedge, cut down so that it may grow afresh, forms an insecure barrier, the stronger stems are cut into short pieces (*prickings*) and thrust in close rows along the top of the hedge on each side, thus making the separation between the fields safe, and protecting the young shoots till they grow up again;" W. Jackson.

Proggings, getting food, 413.
 “*Prog*, food, provisions;” Glos.
 B. 1.

Pumps, thin shoes, 3.

Put, pushed (with the horns),
 butted, 163.

R

Raans, roes (of a fish), 85.

Raap, rope, 171.

Raddle-heck, wattled half-door,
 372. “*Radling*, watling;” Glos.
 B. 1.

Randletree, a ‘randle-bauk,’ a
 piece of wood in a chimney from
 which is hung the pot-crook or
racken-crook, or *ratten-crook*, 381.
See Rannle-bauk in Glos. B. 1.

Rattencreak, pot-crook, pot-hook,
 380. *See above*. [Corruption
 of *rakken-creak*.]

Rattlehorn, a giddy, thoughtless
 person, 457. So also *Rattle-pate*,
 in Halliwell.

Raund, round, 33.

Raund, rown, i. e. whisper, 125.

Raw, row. *See Nebber-raw*.

Reet, right, 157.

Rhaading, raiding, foraying, 521.

Rue, repent, be sorry, 255.

Rung, round or stave, i. e. step of
 a ladder, 382.

S

Saal, soul, 559.

Sauked, sucked, 48.

Saunds, sounds, 48.

Scaled, scattered, 198. Spelt
skale in Glos. B. 1.

Scarrs, bare rocks, especially on a
 mountain side, 7; *Scars*, 365.

Sconce, “a fixed seat by the side

of a fire-place” (Glos. B. 1), 137.
 Brockett gives: “*Sconce*, a fixed
 seat at one side of the fire-place
 in the old large open chimney;
 a short partition near the fire,
 upon which all the bright utensils
 in a cottage are suspended.”

Scout. *See note to l. 193*.

Scrogs, stunted bushes, brush-
 wood, 9.

Sean, soon, 531.

Seaty, sooty, 138, 380.

Seck, sack, 344.

Seet, sight, 91.

Sell'd, sold, 321.

Sells, selves, 226.

Sennet, week (seven nights), 329.

Seun, seven o'clock, 329.

Shaws, copses, woods, 44.

Sic, such, 15.

Sidesmen, assistants to church-
 wardens, 156.

Skirling, shrieking, screaming,
 337.

Slaaworm, slow-worm, 407.

Slinging, slinking, sneaking, 462.
See Slench in Glos. B. 1.

Slome, slumber, 150.

Snaw, snow, 17.

Snocksnares, all of a heap, 366.
 Generally used of entangled
 thread; *see Glos. B. 1 and B. 2*.

Snod, smooth, 3.

Snottering, sobbing, 383.

Somat, somewhat, 363.

Speals, small sticks, 383.

Spelks, “small sticks to fix on
 thatch with,” pegs, 319. Also
 used to mean “slips of hazel
 used to form the bottoms of flat
 baskets such as clothes-baskets

or *swills*, as such baskets are called when used in farm-yards to carry cut turnips in," &c.; W. Jackson. In fact, *spelks* and *speals* are general terms for any thin slips or splinters of wood; the diminutive form is *spelicans*.

Sprouting, rebellious, 25.
" *Spraut*, to kick and struggle;" Halliwell.

Squats, sits, 131. See *Swat* in Glos. B. 1.

Stanethrows, stone-throws, 353.

Steal, stool, 379.

Stee, ladder, 381.

Stirk, heifer, 476. " *Stirk*, a steer;" Glos. B. 1.

Stark-dead, quite dead and stiff, 511.

Stars and garters, an exclamation, 411.

Storkened, lit. stiffened, hence, congealed, 339. See Glos. B. 1.

Stot, young ox, 476.

Stottered, stumbled, 365.

Swattles, swills, 460. " *Swattle*, to guzzle;" Glos. B. 1.

Sweal, flame, blaze, 385. Spelt *swaile* in Glos. B. 1.

T

Ta, to, 112.

Ta, thou, 396, 397.

Taad-poles, tadpoles, 90.

Taan, taken, 293.

Tarn, pool, 239.

Tau; *hes tau* = hastou = hast thou, 126, 127. See **Ta**.

Tea, too, 11, 212.

Tearing, tiring, 272. See **Teered**.

Teata, very, 119. (*Teata* = too-too, as in Shakespeare; see *Toota* in Glos. B. 17.)

Teed, tied, 458.

Teered, tired, 104. See **Tearing**.

Teers, tires, 78.

Tented (later ed. *tended*), guarded, tended, 21. " *Tent*, to watch or guard from doing a thing;" Glos. B. 1.

Testrels (later ed. *testrils*), worthless fellows, 224. See **Taistrel**, **Taystrail**, and **Testril**, in Glos. B. 1, B. 2, and B. 7.

Threaping, chiding, arguing, 471.

Ticing, enticing, alluring, 145.

Tramp'd, trudged along, 332.

Trapes, saunters, 128.

Tykes, headstrong striplings, 430. Spelt *tike* in Glos. B. 1.

U

Unsneck'd, undid, unfastened, 372. " *Sneck*, a door-latch;" Glos. B. 1.

V

Varra, very, 234.

W

Waat, (ye) know, 8.

Wad, would, 19, 132.

Ward, world, 388, 535.

Warding, guarding, 521.

Wardly, worldly, 323.

Wark, work, 520.

Warse, worse, 291.

Waund, wound, 422.

Weezels, weasels, 7.

Welter, roll, tumble about, 99.

Weshed, washed, 17.

Whamp, wasp, 495.

Wharting, teasing, lit. thwart-

ing, note to l. 486. Cf. *whart-whartle*, to cross, tease; Forby.

Whick, quick, i. e. alive, 512.

White. See **Wite**.

Whither, to shiver, shudder, 248.

Originally to whirr, quiver, whiz; see Barbour's Bruce, xvii. 684.

Whiting, whittling, shaving with a knife, 383.

Windraw, heap of dug earth, 335. See Glos. B. 16.

Wite, blame, 250. Misspelt *white* both here and in Glos. B. 1, where it is entered under *Wite*.

Withys, bent osiers, 319. "*Withy*, a round hoop of osier;" Glos. B. 1.

Woon, (ye) dwell, 488.

Wooning, dwelling, abode, 353.

Y

Ya, one, 13, 91; **Yan**, one (of them), 92; **Yans**, one's, 106; **Yaw**, one, 242.

Yance, once, 163, 495.

Yaw, one, 242. See **Ya**.

Yeared, felt grief, or pity, 126. Cf. *ermen*, to grieve; Chaucer.

Yule-clog, yule-log, Christmas log, 33.

Z

Zleads, no doubt the same as '*s lids* = by God's lids or eyelids, fou d in old plays, 170.

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